

THE WALPOLE SOCIETY

1911 - 1912

THE FIRST ANNUAL VOLUME
OF
THE WALPOLE SOCIETY

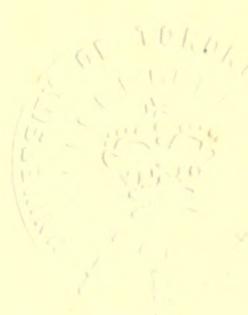
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THE
FIRST ANNUAL VOLUME
—
OF THE
WALPOLE SOCIETY

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This country, which does not always err in vaunting its own productions.'

HORACE WALPOLE'S *Anecdotes of Painting in England.*

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PREFACE

THE Walpole Society was founded in April, 1911, with the object of promoting the study of the history of British Art.

For some reason not easily to be understood, the history of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland has attracted but a small number of students, even among our own countrymen.

The consequence is that British Art, as a whole, does not occupy the place it deserves in general estimation, either here or abroad. Few realize how intimately our Art is bound up with our past history and with our national life and character; even among ourselves we too often hear our national school of painting spoken of as if it were a sudden and unaccountable birth of the eighteenth century, remarkable only for the achievements of five or six men of genius.

Practically nothing has yet been done to study the remains of British painting in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries from the artistic point of view, to trace out their aesthetic development, and to form trustworthy ideas about their relation to similar things abroad and their comparative merit. Their study, such as it has been, has moved almost exclusively on archaeological lines. The magnificence of our illuminated manuscripts has ensured them a certain amount of attention, but even in their case the lesson taught by the existence of such a fine body of artistic production in this country has not been appreciated.

The English school of portrait painting in miniature requires much deeper and more documented study than has yet been spent upon it.

Above all, perhaps, the painting of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries requires patient and widespread investigation. Painters

have been numerous in the country ever since the time of Charles I, but little is known about them, and comparatively few are as yet represented in our public galleries by identified works. A few famous names have been allowed to monopolize attention, to the neglect of a very large number of excellent painters whose names are seldom heard.

Increased interest has from various causes been lately aroused in the history of our national school. But the distressingly small number of students who have turned their attention to this subject are seriously hampered by the comparative isolation in which they work, and by the difficulty of bringing the results of their researches to the notice of the public and of each other.

We hope that the Walpole Society will add rapidly to the number of students of all branches of our National Art, and thus wipe off the reproach under which we in this country at present lie.

In presenting this first annual volume to our subscribers we may venture to point out that their number at present falls a little short of three hundred, and to express the hope that the appearance of the volume may attract a greatly increased measure of support to the Society. As practically the whole of the subscriptions are devoted to the production of our annual volume, it is evident that the size and scope of our future publications must depend upon the number of our subscribers. We wish to make these annual volumes a worthy monument to the artistic genius of our country, and we can only achieve that object if the number of our supporters becomes such as to provide means of turning to full account the wealth of material which exists for reproduction and the zeal of students who are generously ready to contribute the results of their researches.

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All communications should be addressed to—

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*The collotypes and half-tone blocks are the work of MR. DONALD MACBETH,
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PORTRAIT OF NICHOLAS HILLIARD, DATED 1577.

By himself.

Enlarged to twice the size of the original.

(Salting Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON NICHOLAS HILLIARD'S
'TREATISE CONCERNING 'THE ART OF LIMNING'

BY PHILIP NORMAN, LL.D.

THIS treatise on miniature painting, now printed for the first time from a manuscript in the Library at Edinburgh University by kind permission of the authorities there, is the earliest of a series of works on the same subject which so far have remained unpublished. The author was Nicholas Hilliard, our first great English miniaturist, whose portraits had a marvellous reputation in his lifetime and among his immediate successors. His efforts as an author are less frequently mentioned, but imitation is the sincerest flattery. What he wrote on limning was well known to others who took up the subject and was utilized by them with and without acknowledgement.

The treatise had been first inspired by Richard Haydocke, physician, of Winchester and New College, Oxford, who in 1598 published a translation of the *Trattado dell' Arte della Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura*, by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (Milan, 1584), which he called 'A Tracte, containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Carvinge and Buildinge'. In his introductory remarks, headed 'The Translator to the Reader', Haydocke, after boldly comparing Hilliard as a painter with Raphael, proceeds thus: 'For, (to speake a truth) his perfection in ingenious illuminating or limning, the perfection of painting, is (if I can judge) so extraordinarie that when I devised with my selfe the best argument to set it forth, I found none better than to perswade him to doe it himselfe, to the view of all men by his pen; as hee had before unto very many, by his learned pencell, which in the end he assented unto, and by mee promiseth you a treatise of his owne practise that way with all convenient speede.'

The first portion of the volume now printed is alone claimed as altogether Hilliard's undoubted work, written in answer to this request by Haydocke. It occupies nearly thirty-one pages out of thirty-six, and is much more interesting though not more practically useful than the supplementary discourse which follows. Proof, however, will be forthcoming that the latter also was in part if not altogether by Hilliard.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding it is perhaps right to mention at once two facts which, if other information were not available, would leave the authorship even of this first part an open question. The manuscript is not in Hilliard's handwriting, but in that of rather a careless scribe, and the

title at the beginning assigning the work to him is not in the handwriting of this more or less contemporary copyist, but in that of the eighteenth-century engraver and antiquary George Vertue.

Fortunately this rather inconclusive evidence as to the authorship is strengthened by a variety of facts which put the matter beyond question. Perhaps these facts can best be brought before the reader if we begin with a very brief epitome of the whole manuscript.

The earlier portion is headed in Vertue's hand, 'A Treatise concerning the Arte of Limning, writ by N Hilliard', and for the sake of clearness, while discussing the subject, it will generally be called 'the treatise'. The author, after referring with approbation to Lomazzo and others who have written on painting, explains that he himself only tries to teach limning (or miniature). In his view none should meddle with the work but gentlemen, because of its cleanliness, that it can be left off and taken up again at any time without injury, and for other to him sufficient reasons. But the student must of course have diligence and aptitude. Without private means an English painter, however gifted, may be quite unable to support himself, as happened in the case of John Bossam, a man of rare talent, who through poverty was obliged to give up art and became 'a reading minister'. If he had not been English born he might have prospered.

King Henry VIII is then mentioned, and his patronage of 'the most excellent painter and limner' Holbein, whose method of limning Hilliard has 'ever imitated'. Albert Durer's exquisite work as painter and engraver is next referred to with some slight criticism, and his rules for students of the fine arts, 'the best' that had appeared until the time of Lomazzo. This section ends with high praise of English beauty of form and feature, an advantage for our artists which in the author's opinion Durer did not possess.

We now come to the practical question of how to attain skill in the art of miniature. It is clear that the author did not believe in violent exercise. According to him this should be avoided by the student, though he grudgingly allows a short time for bowls and dancing. He regards the portrait as something so precious that when in progress it should not even be breathed on in cold weather, nor touched with the fingers, and a silk dress should be worn as shedding little or no dust. A good north light is desirable, away from the 'sulfurous ayr of seacole'. While the painter is at work 'musike ofendeth not' nor discreet talk, but anger must be avoided and busybodies shut out.

The most difficult thing to imitate in painting is the human face, the three points essential to a fine portrait being excellence of colour, proportion, and what the writer calls 'grace in countenance', or expression. Various kinds of expression are noted, as those of love and joy, of wrath, fear, or sorrow. The features are separately discussed, and we are told that it is essential for the

sitter to keep one position. If he moves much suddenly the artist remarks it, a slight movement more often leads to error. When the smallest deviation is observed the sitter should at once be recalled to his place. It is essential to draw correctly the first line, namely that of the forehead, as a guide for reference. Albert Durer's rules as to the proportions of the features are given, one of them being that the forehead is of the length of the nose. Then follows an interesting piece of personal reminiscence. The writer mentions that though this rule in a general way holds good, yet Sir Christopher Hatton, sometime Lord Chancellor, who was one of the handsomest men in England, had a very low forehead, while on the contrary many faces of Durer's proportions were nevertheless ill favoured.

The author next notes the changes at various times of life ; for instance, the proportions of a young child differ greatly from those of a man of ripe years, to whom Durer's rules would apply, and he again differs from those of advanced age. This train of thought leads him on to recall a conversation that he once had with Sir Philip Sidney, who asked him how he could express on a small scale the difference in figure between a tall man and a short one. He said that it was an easy matter and explains why.

The question of shadows in painting tempts him to describe an important interview with Queen Elizabeth, when they discussed the kind of light most suitable for miniature portraits, and he laid it down as a rule that shadow was only useful for concealing defects in the sitter. On which the Queen, doubtless proud of her beauty, and urged thereto by his remarks, chose to sit for her portrait 'in the open alley of a goodly garden, where no tree was neare nor any shadowe'.

Then follows advice with regard to the various colours which Hilliard recommends and their mode of treatment. These are of the nature of recipes, and would be rather dry reading, but he enlivens them here and there by a personal touch. Thus he tells us that ultramarine from Venice was extremely dear. He himself had paid for it 3s. 8d. per carat, which according to his reckoning is £11 10s. the ounce. In its place smalt appears to have been generally used. His method of drying white lead 'on a chalk stone with trenches cut in it' seems to have become afterwards a stock recipe, though not quoted word for word. Two or three of the colours he mentions are now partly forgotten. Serusa or Ceruse was a kind of white lead. When calcined it produced Masticot, a yellow. Two pigments called Bice, blue and green, still known to artists' colourmen, are formed from native carbonates of copper.

After a few remarks with regard to the preparation of the card, coated with fine vellum, on which the painting is to be executed, and the way in which it is to be begun, he recommends artists not to accept criticism from the 'baser sort' of people, but 'to proceed in order and pity their ignorance'. Further advice

follows on the management of colours, the use of gold and silver, which should be burnished with a ferret's or weasel's tooth, and the mode of imitating pearls and diamonds.

We now come upon a long dissertation which, although perhaps not affording much help to students of miniature painting, is of value, as it strengthens the claim, if this were needed, that Hilliard was indeed the author of the manuscript. We know him to have been a skilled goldsmith, and here the chief colours are all likened to precious stones; for instance, red to the ruby, yellow to the oriental topaz, and green to the emerald. Many other stones are mentioned, and he dwells with much detail and enthusiasm on their fine qualities; indeed here he seems to write more as a jeweller than a miniaturist. In a digression some results are given of his experience with regard to gem-cutters, and presumably craftsmen and artists in general. The best of them often remain poor, while a bungler with aptitude for business or self-advertisement may flourish.

Near the end are a few notes that appear unfinished. The author concludes with advice as to the level and distance at which a sitter should be placed for his portrait. He should not be nearer than two yards,¹ but if a full-length portrait is to be undertaken he should be at least six yards off. When the hands happen to be in a good position, the best method is to draw them quickly, because if the sitter be asked to place the hands in a special manner he is apt to give them an air of 'affected grace'. The sitter is finally counselled to make up his mind at the beginning what pose he should adopt, to learn it as it were by heart, and to revert to it unconsciously if possible.

Near the foot of the last page the copyist who wrote out the 'treatise' has dated his 'transcript' thus: 'the 18 of March 1624 Londres', that is five years after the death of Hilliard. The handwriting, the last line included, was examined by that great authority Sir George Warner, and he considered 1624 to be the date of the whole.

That the 'treatise' was originally composed by Hilliard has perhaps been sufficiently proved. First, we have Haydocke's statement that he promised such a work. A perusal of it, with its queer spelling and picturesque but homely style, shows that it is written by a man more accustomed to handle the brush than the pen, while the personal reminiscences would some of them fit Hilliard and no one else. At the very beginning is the allusion to Lomazzo whom Haydocke had translated, then come the praise of Holbein whom Hilliard imitated, and the references to Sir Philip Sidney whom he knew, and to Sir Christopher Hatton whose portrait he painted more than once. Perhaps

¹ On folio 14 of the MS. at the British Museum, known as Harl. 6000, to which reference will presently be made, this rule is combined with the previous one that a sitter if he moves should at once be recalled to his place.

most convincing of all is the account of his interview with Queen Elizabeth. That Hilliard painted her again and again 'in small compasse' is well known, and his still existing miniatures of her have the diffused light they both admired, which gives them a flat shadowless appearance. He was her goldsmith and limner,¹ and his love of the former art is shown by the elaboration and skill in painting the jewels that adorned his sitters, about which he is almost apologetic, for he says that it is no part of limning but 'appertaineth to another art'. It is perhaps unnecessary to carry further the internal evidence of authorship, nor need we say more about the few unimportant borrowings from this particular treatise, which are to be found in other manuscripts, and consist of practical rules for the art, anecdotal passages being left untouched.

Although it is evident that the existing transcript dates from the year 1624, this 'treatise' must have been composed by Hilliard in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who was clearly still living when he describes their interview, the date of her death being March 24, 1602-3. The dedication to Thomas Bodley of Haydocke's translation of Lomazzo is dated August 24, 1598; we may therefore conclude that Hilliard's work was written during the intervening period. Vertue indeed argues, in a note accompanying the 'treatise', that Haydocke's 'Preface to the reader' which follows the dedication was written in 1590, because of a statement therein that 'Baptista Armenius Faventinus wrought Anno Dom 1587 which is three years since', but this must be a slip of the pen, as at the top of the same page Haydocke says that Lomazzo's book, published as we know in 1584, 'hath continued these 13 yeares untranslated into other tongues'.

The first portion of the manuscript having been dealt with, we now come to the much shorter concluding part, which in this volume begins page 45. It is written on the same paper, and on the second halves of the same sheets, but the formation of the letters is different, and no doubt it is by a later scribe. Sir George Warner has stated his opinion that it is a little earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century.

This second part is headed 'A more compendious discourse concerning y^e art of Limning the nature and property of the colours', and is without those individual touches that give such interest to the first part or 'treatise'. There is moreover no internal evidence of authorship in the form of anecdote or personal reminiscence. The 'discourse', which in the remainder of this introduction will be so named, consists of a series of rules for the preparation and use of the colours, of the brushes, &c., and for the actual painting of the portrait.

¹ In gold lettering round the edge of a portrait of himself in the Minley Manor collection, referred to by Miss Helen Farquhar, are placed the words, 'Nicūs Hilliard aurifaber sculptor et cœlebris Illuminator serenissimæ Reginae Elizabethæ'.

Somewhat similar ground is gone over to that already traversed in later portions of the 'treatise'. Once or twice there are strong resemblances; for instance, in what is said about preparing the card for painting. Here we are told that it should be 'an ordinary playing card', such as Hilliard sometimes used. H. Peacham describes the method of Hippolito Donato at Rome, which seems to have been almost identical. A few lines further on the advice as to not making the colour too brown is similar in each. Generally the later 'discourse' supplements the 'treatise'.

The remarkable thing about our supplementary 'discourse' is that, to the extent of something like three-quarters of the whole, its precepts and recipes appear again and again, almost invariably without acknowledgement, in a succession of seventeenth-century manuscripts on limning, and in more than one published book, the language being modified and varied as time went on. Most of the manuscripts, indeed all throwing light on the subject, were ably analysed by Mr. Martin Hardie in the second volume of Dr. G. C. Williamson's *History of Miniature Portraits*, 1904, and extracts from two were printed in the appendix. He had not however then seen the Edinburgh manuscript. We are rejoiced to hear that he is now engaged in editing the most important of them, namely that in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is entitled 'Miniatura or the Art of Limning, The Names Order and use of the Couloours both for Pictures by the Life Lanscape and History', and will soon be issued from the Oxford University Press. He has been devoting attention to the subject for years, and no one is more competent to deal with it. Far from clashing, the two publications should supplement and aid each other; we only want to get at the truth.

Incidentally, perhaps, Mr. Martin Hardie, who since 1904 must have collected many further facts, will give his matured opinion about the whole group of later manuscripts. We should have left consideration of them entirely in his hands, but it seems necessary to consider the subject here from the point of view of how far they affect the status of this 'discourse' or last part of the Edinburgh volume. Setting aside a few pages on 'Lymninge', which occur in the Stowe manuscript numbered 680 at the British Museum and have no connexion with the rest, and apart from the Edinburgh 'treatise' and 'discourse', there are at least nine manuscripts that deal with miniature painting, now in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and at the rooms of the Royal Society, and certainly one more is known to exist. They almost invariably repeat each other a great deal, and for the most part bear evidence of being later than the period which concerns us. For our purpose only two require serious consideration.

The earlier of these two is that at the British Museum, known as Harl. 6000. Its title runs as follows (without author's name): 'An exact and

Compendious Discours concerning the Art of Miniatura or Limning the names Nature and properties of the Coullours, the orders to be observed in preparing and using them both for Picture by the Life Landscape and Historyes.' As may be remarked, the first part of this title agrees with that of the Edinburgh 'discourse'. The added word 'Miniatura' and the rest of the title resemble that of the Bodleian manuscript which we shall presently consider. In fact the Edinburgh volume has no sections dealing with limned paintings or illuminations of landscape and 'history', or with other subjects such as the making of crayons, which occupy much space in this and the Bodleian manuscript. With some extensions and in slightly varied form most of the rules for painting miniature portraits contained in the 'discourse' are repeated in Harl. 6000; but the latter has large additions on technical matters and, besides this, personal allusions and reminiscences quite distinct from those in the Edinburgh 'treatise', and evidently relating to another person.

One of these allusions is of great value in view of the fact that in the opinion of Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum the lettering of the manuscript, which is excellent, might quite well belong to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. On folio 10 we are told that 'Paolo Brill', that is Paul Brill the landscape painter, 'is still living in Rome', and it is known that he died in 1626. In another passage (folio 8) mention is made of 'my most noble Lord the Earle of Arundell Earle Martiall of England', which can only apply to Thomas Howard, second Earl, who had that office conferred on him in 1621 and died in 1646. If this reference and that to Brill are accurate the treatise must have been compiled between 1621 and 1626, but as news from the Continent then travelled slowly it might be a little later. Elsewhere the writer speaks of an interview he had with the painter and engraver Hendrik Goltzius, who died in 1617. A fourth allusion is to the writer's still living 'cosson' or 'cousinell' Peter Oliver, son of the famous Isaac Oliver who had been a pupil of Hilliard. Isaac is also called cousin, and part of a Latin epitaph on him is given. The writer has visited the Vatican and other famous places in Italy, and quotes Latin and Italian. He speaks of Rubens and his 'affected collourings', but does not appear to know him personally.

We should add that gummed on to a modern fly-leaf of Harl. 6000 is an old piece of paper, part of a former fly-leaf, which has on it in eighteenth-century handwriting, perhaps Vertue's, the words 'Of Limning by Hilliard'. The latter statement may be more recent than the former. Below in different ink is the date 1695. This however is of no importance, each assertion being evidently a surmise.

The fact that, although a few sentences from the 'treatise' and large portions of the 'discourse' are incorporated in Harl. 6000, the latter was not compiled by Hilliard, is proved by several acknowledgements of indebtedness

to him for information. As an instance, the employment of the 'juice of garlick' before laying on liquid silver, to which no reference occurs in the Edinburgh volume, was, we are told, a 'secret I had from Mr. Hilliard'. In the 'discourse' there are no such acknowledgements, which naturally would be out of place if Hilliard were the author of it.

The later of the two manuscripts which chiefly concern us is that in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, marked there as Tanner 326; for convenience we will call it 'the Bodleian *Miniatura*'. This, we have said on a previous page, is the work which Mr. Martin Hardie is now engaged on. The author is held by him, and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to be Edward Norgate, and, with the evidence now before us, there can be no reasonable doubt that this attribution is the right one, although some might be inclined to substitute for the word author that of compiler.

At the beginning he says that *more than twenty years before*, Sir Theodore Mayerne (the distinguished physician) had asked him to compose a treatise on painting, and he continues thus: 'To gratify soe good a friend soe ingenious a gentleman I wrote such observations as *from the best masters* and examples here and beyond the mountaines I had learned and for my recreation practised, as my better employment gave me leave.—Finding myself at leasure more than enough I have revised that dead couloured description and added to it both in weight and fashion.'

The probable date of this manuscript is important, and although none appears on it, this can be fixed with a good deal of accuracy. It is dedicated 'to the Right Honourable my Singular good Lord Henry Howard Earle of Arundell and Surrey', no other than Henry Frederick, third Earl, who succeeded to the title in 1646. The dedication is signed E. N.; if by Edward Norgate it must have been written before the end of 1650,¹ but another reference narrows the limit. In Harl. 6000 the writer's 'cosson' or 'cousinell' Peter Oliver, son of Isaac, is clearly still living. In the Bodleian *Miniatura* we are told that he had used a certain colour 'to his dying day', but he lived until 1648, so the manuscript must have been composed in the course of the next two years. The form of the letters also belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century. The writing is excellent. Comparison, however, with known examples of his penmanship shows that it was not by the actual hand of Norgate, although the manner of expression is undoubtedly his.

¹ In his edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1826-8, vol. ii, p. 43, the Rev. James Dallaway says that this manuscript has on the title Norgate's name in full and the date July 8, 1654, and that before his death he had ceased to be Windsor Herald. In fact, however, he retained the office till his death at Heralds' College, which event took place in December, 1650, for on the 23rd of that month he was buried at the adjoining church of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, as appears in the register. There is no date or name of Norgate in full on the manuscript. Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, to whom it is dedicated, died in 1652.



PORTRAIT OF RICHARD HILLIARD,

Father of the Artist, dated 1577.

Enlarged to twice the size of the original

(Salting Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum)

When comparing the Bodleian *Miniatura* with Harl. 6000 and the Edinburgh manuscript, we find that the first named contains in varied form almost everything in Harl. 6000, including, with one or two exceptions, the large number of rules for limning which also occur in the Edinburgh volume. But there is plenty of new material, and where a statement has become obsolete it is modified. The writer is practised in heraldry and limning, he has travelled more, his references to works by great artists are extended, and he uses French and Dutch words in addition to Italian and Latin. He now praises Rubens (whose personal acquaintance he has evidently made and who has passed away), mentioning that he had been 'knighted by the best of Kings and Men'. We are told that some of his pictures 'were lately at York Howse but now unhappily transplanted'. This refers doubtless to the thirteen Rubens paintings in the collection of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, acquired in 1627 with many other splendid works of art from Rubens's own collection, and scattered by the Commonwealth in 1645. These allusions are perhaps enough for our purpose, if we add a few notes about Norgate gleaned from other sources, to show how well-known events of his life accord with the evidence of the manuscripts.

This accomplished man was in his younger days a protégé of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel, our first great connoisseur. He taught the Earl's sons, Henry Frederick and William, the art of heraldic painting, was sent by him to Italy to buy pictures, and, Oct. 28, 1633, was appointed Windsor Herald, having probably been for a short time Blue-mantle. His artistic knowledge was utilized on behalf of Queen Henrietta Maria and other great people, and he thus visited the Continent on various occasions, even making his way as far as the Levant. There is record of an interview with Rubens at the house of the latter in Brussels. Norgate became Clerk of the Signet to Charles I, and Illuminator of Royal Patents, in which capacity we are told that his work showed exquisite taste and finish. All these facts help to confirm our belief in his authorship of Harl. 6000 and the Bodleian *Miniatura*. The only stumbling-block is that Isaac and Peter Oliver are claimed therein as cousins, and Norgate is not known to have been related to them. This question of cousinship has given rise to the ingenious idea that the writer of Harl. 6000 was John De Critz, serjeant-painter, because an Isaac Olivier of Rouen, who may possibly have been the great limner, married a lady in 1602 who may have been related to De Critz. If, however, Harl. 6000 was by De Critz the Bodleian *Miniatura* was also by him, and the evidence now available points in an overwhelming manner to Norgate.

Accepting this, our real concern is to unravel the tangled skein involving the Edinburgh volume, Harl. 6000, and the Bodleian *Miniatura*, and to trace, if possible, the authorship of the second part of the Edinburgh 'discourse', with

regard to which we have reserved one piece of evidence until now. There is a passage in the 'discourse' which occurs almost word for word in Harl. 6000, although cut down in the Bodleian *Miniatura* to a very small compass. It begins 'Cheristone and Ivory are both to be burned and so ground', and it will be found on p. 32 of our publication. At the end of this passage as given in the Harleian manuscript is the following statement: 'This was the manner of our late excellent M^r Nicholas Hilliard in making his Sattens.' The 'discourse' is written in similar style throughout, the passage referred to is unquestionably his, and if part why not the whole? It is likely enough that he was not responsible for its precise form. What seems more probable is that after his death it was put together by a personal friend, perhaps by his son who was a limner, from information furnished by him, as a series of notes for those interested in limning, and that years afterwards it was copied into this volume by way of supplement to the 'treatise'.

Harl. 6000 represents Norgate's first attempt at a description of the processes of painting, and, although not by his hand, it must have been quite an early transcript. His reference to this first attempt is quoted by us from the Bodleian *Miniatura* on p. 8. It can hardly be one of the 'imperfect' copies of which, in his dedication of that manuscript to Lord Arundel, he complains as having appeared under another's name without his consent or knowledge, for it has no name attached to it.

Norgate's final and finished production, the Bodleian *Miniatura*, is an excellent piece of work. Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, may with reason call him 'a right honest man', and we need not impute unworthy motives because in what he implies to have been a compilation, intended of course to be as useful as he could make it for reference, he annexed anything that seemed of value without troubling himself often to record the precise sources of his knowledge. In referring to the 'best masters' to whom he was indebted for information, he indicates these generally, and he several times mentions Hilliard as having practised certain methods. He also praises him as an excellent person, 'in his time a great Master of the Arte'. To do more would have been thought superfluous if the rules laid down in the Edinburgh 'treatise' and 'discourse' were looked upon as stock methods for workers. Thus the careful housewife, who lights upon a good recipe, 'when found makes a note' of it, only now and then jotting down the name of its first composer.

The phraseology of the 'discourse' like that of the 'treatise' is old-fashioned, the sentences unlearnedly arranged. The part of it appearing in Harl. 6000 is generally expanded and made less rugged; the reverse process seems improbable. Finally Norgate put together what may be called a new edition of his earlier work, which itself in passages not relating to limning was independent of Hilliard. Still embodying a few rules from the 'treatise'

and large portions of the 'discourse', he omitted what was out of date, and placed his material in ordered sequence. He improved the diction and added many fresh facts; the whole, apart from the interest of its personal allusions, being a valuable record of the methods of miniature portrait painting and of much else relating to art in the middle of the seventeenth century. But while according him due praise for his achievement we must not forget that Nicholas Hilliard, both as English limner and as writer on limning, was the pioneer.

Before quitting altogether the subject of the seventeenth-century manuscripts on limning, it will perhaps be right to say a few words about one or two of those, not yet referred to by name, which are clearly founded on Norgate, and through him partly on Hilliard. In Dr. Williamson's *History of Miniature Portraits* Mr. Martin Hardie has already criticized the manuscript at the British Museum dedicated by Daniel King to Mary, daughter of Thomas Lord Fairfax, who in 1657 became Duchess of Buckingham, and he points out that it is a copy of Norgate, earlier and more imperfect than the Bodleian *Miniatura*. In fact, where that manuscript differs from Harl. 6000, King agrees with the latter; for instance, he gives the statement that Brill was then living, afterwards altered by Norgate. Of course King could not possibly have been the author, and he clearly attempted to deceive, for in his halting dedication he speaks of the manuscript as a collection of secrets in the art of miniature that in all his 'travels' he 'could learn or observe for love or money'. It was at one time lent to Walpole.

Other manuscripts in the British Museum are based on the earlier Norgate treatise, usually with added notes on various subjects. Add. MS. 23080 seems to be for the most part an imperfect transcript of Harl. 6000. It also belonged to Vertue and afterwards to Walpole, and the former has filled in some omitted passages. The first portion is dated 1664. A later manuscript, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, also follows the Harl. 6000 model. On the other hand, the transcript belonging to the Royal Society, with date 1657, repeats the Bodleian *Miniatura*. The fly-leaf has the words 'By E Norgate', in contemporary handwriting.

There are various seventeenth-century printed books on limning. H. Peacham's *Art of drawing with the pen and limning in water colours*, although commending Hilliard, seems independent of him. It first appeared in 1606, and in 1622 was incorporated in the same author's *Compleat Gentleman*, which ran through several editions, being republished after the Restoration; a reprint of it appeared in 1906. Peacham's recipes and those of Hilliard had evidently been studied by the man who wrote *Polygraphice*, 1672, ostensibly the work of William Salmon, M.D., who at the end advertised his own pills. Much of the second part of W. Sanderson's *Graphice*, 1658, is a bad copy of what relates to limning in Harl. 6000. This was repeated to some extent by Alexander Browne,

who in his *Ars Pictoria*, second edition, 1675, remarks that he has taken observations 'out of a manuscript of Mr. Hilliard's touching Miniture'. In short, as a general rule, each writer, whether his work was intended for publication or not, helped himself freely to whatever he thought useful; they all, moreover, unite in praising Hilliard or saying that they owe to him the knowledge of some method.

The dates and origin of the 'treatise' and 'discourse', that is, of the first and second parts of the Edinburgh manuscript, and their connexion with other manuscripts of a similar kind having been considered, let us now devote a few words to the later history of the volume. It is well known that George Vertue collected a great mass of material, now among Add. MSS. in the British Museum, for a history of painters and painting, but he died in 1757 without carrying out his plan. In the following year Walpole bought the collection from Vertue's widow, and it became the basis of the *Anecdotes of Painting*, to which he added embellishments and reminiscences of his own. Among the manuscripts was that consisting of the 'treatise' and 'discourse' which we are now publishing. From the former, Walpole, in his notice of Hilliard, quotes the sentence beginning 'Holbein's manner I have ever imitated' and also the account of Bossam.

It has been said in our note on p. 8 that in 1826-8 the Rev. James Dallaway brought out an annotated edition of the *Anecdotes* (re-issued after his death). He makes various allusions to the manuscript we are publishing, then at Strawberry Hill. In remarks attached to one of Walpole's quotations, vol. i, p. 286, he confuses it with Harl. 6000; elsewhere, vol. i, p. 144, when quoting from the latter treatise which he mentions as being at the British Museum, he expresses the belief that it was from Hilliard's notes, and in another passage at p. 293 that it was compiled some years after Hilliard's death, partly from his notes and partly from conversations with him. Dallaway also quotes from the Bodleian *Miniatura*, in his note to vol. ii, p. 43, but does not observe its resemblance to Harl. 6000, nor to our manuscript, which evidently he had not seen. His error with regard to the date of the Oxford manuscript has already been mentioned in our note on p. 8. Nevertheless Dallaway's edition has considerable merit.

To resume our account of the Edinburgh manuscript in comparatively recent years. It remained at Strawberry Hill until the Walpole collection was dispersed by auction in 1842, being No. 122 on p. 83 of the sale catalogue brought out by the well-known auctioneer George Robins. The small folio volume, with a plain binding of some age but little interest, contains Walpole's armorial bookplate and the names of Patrick Fraser Tytler and David Laing, to whom successively it belonged. In 1863, when in the possession of the last-named gentleman, he lent it to that distinguished man Sir George

Scharf, virtual founder of the National Portrait Gallery, who with infinite pains traced the parts of it that interested him, and had his tracing transcribed. The original MS. was bequeathed to Edinburgh University by Mr. Laing, and transmitted to the Library by his executors in 1879. After Scharf's death the tracing and transcript were kindly given to the present writer, who also soon afterwards acquired by purchase a complete transcript. From this he quoted in a paper on Hoefnagel, read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1901. Attention was thus drawn to the existence of the manuscript, which for years had escaped the notice of most people interested in the history of miniatures. In 1905 he lent the transcript to his friend the late Sir Richard Holmes, who quoted rather freely from it in his article on Hilliard which appeared in the *Burlington Magazine*, vol. viii. The passages then given are however in amount trifling compared with the whole, and as the manuscript is rather difficult to read and the transcript had not been collated they contain many errors. Miss Helen Farquhar also borrowed and utilized the transcript for her excellent articles on Nicholas Hilliard, 'Embosses of Medals of Gold', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. viii, 1908, and on the 'Portraiture of our Tudor Monarchs on their Coins and Medals', *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. iv, issued in the same year. In her former paper she gives a few notes on the group of seventeenth-century manuscripts. Miss Farquhar's chief work, however, and that a very useful one, is to trace, as far as may be, the artistic productions of Nicholas Hilliard other than his limnings. Incidentally she points out certain facts with regard to the man himself.

He was the son of Richard Hilliard, High Sheriff of Exeter in 1560, and of Laurence, daughter of John Wall, goldsmith, of London, with whom he may have studied the goldsmith's art. The date of his birth is not fixed with certainty. There is a miniature in the Buccleuch collection which, according to the inscription, represents him at the age of thirteen. It is apparently self-painted, and if so must be his earliest known work. By the head are the initials NH and the figures 1550. The inscription on another miniature of him at Montagu House, painted in the year 1574, also makes the year of his birth 1537. On the other hand, the inscription on the Salting miniature of him, A.D. 1577, also self-painted, implies that he was born in 1547, and from the companion portrait of his father the latter would appear to have been born in 1519. If the inscription on the father's portrait is correct, we have some difficulty in believing that Nicholas was born in 1537, though marriages were early in those days. We can, however, be quite sure that he did not paint his own portrait at the tender age of three. The miniatures themselves and the lettering of all look equally genuine. There is a mistake somewhere; the date of his birth seems to be now generally accepted as 1537.

From documents in the Augmentation Office and among the State Papers it is proved that Hilliard both designed and engraved the second Great Seal of

Queen Elizabeth, the order for which was made July 15, 1584. Again, in the time of James I, Dec. 26, 1604, there was a 'warrant to pay to Nich. Hilliard 64^l 10^s for 12 gold medals'. Miss Farquhar gives the evidence about the wonderful Armada Jewel now belonging to Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and points out what else he may have done as medallist, goldsmith, and jeweller. He may even have practised the art of cutting precious stones; that he had expert knowledge of it is shown by our 'treatise'. In the Pierpont Morgan collection of Hilliard miniatures there are several interesting ones of noble French ladies, and in Dr. Williamson's catalogue reasons are given for believing not only that these were painted by Hilliard but that he worked at the French Court. Unquestionably there was an English painter employed by the Duc d'Alençon, and called in his accounts Nicholas Belliart.

We have finished the main subject of our introduction, and a biography of Hilliard would here be superfluous. Little is really known of his private life, and that little has already been set forth in various modern publications to which access can easily be obtained. We will therefore merely add some half-dozen leading facts. In the Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Ser., 1610, we are told that 'Nicholas Hilliard Painter to the King' had suffered from serious illness, 'but resolved before he died to recommend the suit of William Goldsmith labourer, who has discovered a new mode of repairing highways at half the usual cost.' In 1617 a special licence was granted to him for twelve years to paint and engrave portraits of the King and the Royal Family. In this document he is called 'our well beloved servant Nicholas Hilliard Gentleman our principal Drawer for the small portraits and Imbosser of our Medallies of Gold'. He had married Alicia Brandon, who was a daughter of John Brandon, Chamberlain of the City of London; a miniature painting of her is at Montagu House. From an inscription on it we learn that she was his first wife. To judge from their portraits they must have been a remarkably good-looking pair. Of his second wife, who probably predeceased him, we know nothing. He died Jan. 7, 1619, and was buried at the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, having been a resident in that parish. His will is known; after legacies to the poor, to his two sisters, and his servant, he left the residue of his property to his only son, Laurence, to whom King James had already, in 1607, granted the office of 'Limner in reversion after Nicholas Hillyard his father'.

Our thanks are due to Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum for his great skill and care in correcting the proof of the manuscript, and to Mr. Lionel Cust for kindly help. It may perhaps be right to add that the very casual use of capital letters, the punctuation, and the arrangement of paragraphs in the original have been altered, as it was felt that these changes would make the document more readable. On the other hand the spelling, which has a distinct individuality of its own, has been carefully retained.

A TREATISE
CONCERNING THE ARTE OF LIMNING

writ by N. HILLIARD

at the request of R. Haydocke who publisht in English a translation of
Paulo Lomazzo on Painting 1598.¹

[OF precepts & directions for y^e]² arte of paintinge I will saye littel, insomuch as Paulo Lomatzo [& others hath excellently & learnedly spo]ken therof, as is well knouen to the learned & better sorte [who are conversant with those a]uthors; but only intending to teache the arte of limning, and the [true method leading th]ervnto, as also to shewe who are fittest to be practisers [thereof, for whom only] let it suffice that I intend my whole discourse that way.

[Amongst y^e ant]ient Romans in time past forbad that any should [shoud (*sic*) be taught the ar]te of painting saue gentlemen only. I coniec- ture they did it [upon judgment of th]is ground, as thinking that noe man vsing the same to get his liuing [by, if he was a needy] artificer, could haue the patience or leasure to performe any [exact true & rare] peece of worke, but men ingeniously borne, and of sufficient means [not subject to] . . . se (those ?) comon cares of the world for food and garment, moued with [emulation a]nd desier therof, would doe theier vtermost best, not respecting the [profit o]r the lenght of time, nor permit any vnworthy vnworthy (*sic*) worke to be published vnder their name to comon view, but deface it againe rather and neuer leaue till some excelent pece of arte were by him or them performed worthy of some comendations, by reason wherof it was no wonder that the most excelent nation and the greatest witts of the world then brought forth the most rare workes in painting that euer weare; it must needs be granted then for euer, and like as one good workman then mad another, so one bocher nowe-adaies

¹ This title, on a fly-leaf facing the first page of the MS., is in the handwriting of George Vertue, F.S.A., the engraver (d. 1756).

² The words enclosed in square brackets on this page are in Vertue's hand, and are on a slip of paper inserted to make good a mutilation of the first leaf.

maketh many, and they increase so fast that good workmen giue over to vsse their best skill, for all m(en) cary one price.

Now therfor I wish it weare so that none should medle with limning but gentelmen alone, for that it is a kind of gentill painting of lesse subiection then any other; for one may leaue when hee will, his coullers nor his work taketh any harme by it. Morouer it is secreet, a man may vsse it and scarsly be perseued of his owne folke; it is sweet and cleanly to vsse, and it is a thing apart from all other painting or drawing, and tendeth not to comon mens vsse, either for furnishing of howsses or any patternes for tapistries, or building, or any other worke whatsoever, and yet it excelleth all other painting whatsoever in sondry points, in giuing the true lustur to pearle and precious stone, and worketh the metals gold or siluer with themselves, which so enricheth and innobleth the worke that it seemeth to be the thing itse[lf], euen the worke of God and not of man, benning fittest for the decking of princes bookes or to put in jeeuells of gould and for the imitat[ion] of the purest flowers and most beautifull creaturs in the finest and purest coullers which are chargable, and is for the seruice of noble persons very meet in small voloms in priuat maner for them to haue the portraits and pictures of themselues, (*f*o. 1 b) their peers, or any other forraine¹

them, and this is a worke which of
 owne pressence for the most part of the
 uenient that they be gentelmen of g
 of abbillity or mad by princes fee abl
 to giue such seemly attendance one Pr
 Royall presence Seest thou not that th
 in their bussines stand before Prince
 mon peeple, But God the aughter of wisdo
 all good guifts and goodnes, he giueth gæntilit
 rayseth man to reputation by diuers mean
 he called Basaleel and Ahohas by name and
 wissdome, skill, and vnderstanding, without any te
 of his owne guift and grace receued

Ecclesi-
 asticus

¹ MS. mutilated : see above, p. 15, note 2.

himself to be cuninge in all fine & curious w
 silke in painting, in setting of precious stones in gould
 the text sayeth, He filled them with the sperit of God to
 such works being men before brought vp but in st
 of bricces in captiuitye, they and their ancestors for
 generations.

Heer is a kind of true gentility when God calet, and doubtles though gentelmen be the metest for this gentill caling or practize, yet not all, but naturall aptnes is to be chossen and prefered, for not euey gentelman is so gentel sperited as som others are. Let vs therefore honore and prefferre the election of God in all vocations and degrees; and suerly he is a very wisse man that can find out the naturall inclination of his childeren in due time, and soe applie him that waye which nature most inclineth him, if it be good or may be made good, as it may be vssed, though in childhood abussed; and as for an naturall aptnes of or to painting after the liffe, thosse surly which haue such a guift of God ought to reioyce with humble thankfulnes, and to be very wary and temperat in diet and other government, least it be sone taken from them againe by some sudaine mischance, or by their euell coustomes their sight or stedines of hand decay.

Then this exortation giue I more that he be diligent, yea euer diligent, and put his whole vttermost and best endeauors to exceell all other, for a stronge man that putteth not forth his strenght is often foyled by weaker, and the most perfect and cuningest must doe the same diligence, or rather more, to effect and performe his worke then hee did at the first in larninge. For it cannot be sayd that a man, be he neuer so cunning by teaching or naturall inclination, yet it will growe out of him as haire out of the head, or fall from him, whether he will or no, but with great labour, and this comfort shall he haue then aboute others, euen an heauen of joy in his hart to behould his own well doings remaining to his credit for euer. Yea if men of worth did knowe what delight it (*fo. 2*) breedeth, how it remoueth mallan-coly, auodeth euell occasions, putteth passions of sorrowe or greefe awaye, cureth rage, and shortneth the times, they would neuer leaue till they had attained in some good meassur a more then comfort.

Maie he haue both prayse and euen honor in the sight of men liuing and fame for euer after, and princes comonly giue them competent meanes, by which not the workmen soe much as themselues ar eternized, and famously remembred as the nuresses of vertue and arts. Wherefore it is truly written *Honos alit artes*, and many noble and honorable perssons haue bine practizers themselues of the art of painting, as Lomatius very learnedly and truly hath in order repeated; and some haue counted themselues the greater therby, as the famous and victorious Roman Quintus Fabius added it as an honnore vnto his tytyle to be called Quintus Fabius Pictor, and Pamitius, recokoning (*sic*) vp the famous barons and worthy perssons which wear attendant on the emperour Marcus Aurelius, remembreth and shortly amonge them this principal painter.

Neuertheles, if a man be so indued by nature and liue in time of trouble, and vnder a sauage gouerment wherin arts be not esteemed, and himselfe but of small meanes, woe be vnto him as vnto an vntimly birth; for of mine owne knowlege it hath mad poure men poorer, as among others many, the most rare Englishe drawer of story works in black and white, John Bossam, for one of his skill worthy to haue bene Sergant Painter to any King or Emperour, whose work in that kind are comperable with the best whatsoeuer in cloathe in distemper cullors for whit and black; whoe being very poore, and belyke wanting to buy faier cullors, wrought therefore for the most part in whit and black, and growing yet poorer by charge of childrenen &c. gaue painting cleane ouer, but being a very faier conditioned zealous and godly persson grewe into a loue of God's deuine seruice vpon the liberty of the gossPELL at the coming in of Quene Elizabeth, and became a reading minister, only unfortunat because he was English borne, for euen the strangers would otherwisse haue set him vpp.

Heer must I needs incert a word or two in honore and praisse of the renowned and mighty King Henry the eight, a prince of exquisit iugment and royall bounty, soe that of cuning stranger euen the best resorted vnto him and remoued from other courts to his, amongst whom came the most excelent painter and limner Haunce Holbean, the greatest master truly in both those arts after the liffe that euer was,

so cunning in both together, and the neatest; and the[re]withall a good inuentor, soe compleat for all three as I neuer heard of any better then hee. Yet had the King in wages for limning diuers others; but Holbeans maner of limning I haue euer imitated and howld it for the best, by reason that of truth all the rare siences, especially the arts of caruing, painting, gouldsmiths, imbroderers, together with the most of all the liberall siences, came first vnto vs from the strangers, and generally they are the best and most in number. I hard Kimsard (*for* Ronsard?) the great French poet on a time say that the Ilands indeed seldome bring forth any cunning man, but when they doe it is in high perfection; so then I (*fo. 2 b*) hope I hope (*sic*) there maie come out of this ower land such a one, this being the greatest and most famous Iland of Europe.

The most excelent Albert Dure was borne in Germany, a part of the greatest mayneland in Europe, which breedeth or might breed more then a hundred workmen for vs one, this Albert being as exquisite and perfect and perfect (*sic*) a painter and master in the art of grauing on copper as euer was since the world begane (that by many works exstant appeareth), and which also hath written the best and most rulles of and for painting and grauing hetherunto of any maister untill Paulo Lamatio, which rulles of Albert for the most part ar hard to be remembred, and tedious to be foloued of painters, being so ful of diuisions, but very fittable for caruers and masons, for architects and fortifications, and all [to] which drawing is the enterance, the very high waye and foundation. He dowllesse had opinion that not in hast or short time his better should arisse, wherfor, as it hath bene vnto me credabelly reported, he resserued some plats of his owne grauing for printing, which he gaue vnto the city of Norenbourgh, wherof he was a worthy counselor, which he kept for a time, r[e]quiring of them by his will and testament that those plats should not be printed vntill one hundred yeares after his [death] weare fully expired and past, that he might then arisse againe after a houndred yearesto his greater fame, if in the meane time he wear not excelled by any other; which plats ar yet reserued vnprinted to his great credit, and which in due time to his greater fame will doubtles be deuolged.

Yet hath ther beene diuers excelent persons of that nation and of Italy, France, and the Lowe Countries also, wherof Hendrick Goltzius

aproched Albertus very neer, most admirably imitating him and Lucas of Leyden also in their seuerall handling the grauer, which he hath done in sertaine peces to shoue what he could doe if he list, but he afecteth another maner of line, which is swifter acording to his spirit, and doubtles very excelent, and most folowed; that man is worthy to be remembred in bouck to posterity, which excelleth all men in that age in that matter wherof he is professor. Albertus Dure was both inuentor and grauer, as few of the rest of the grauers are, a double honor to him.

Nowe the reasson why the rules of Alberte serue mor. the caruer then the painter is because he discribeth and deuideth the propeortion or of parts of men, like as of pillors or such other things, by measures of inches in lenght, breadth, thiknes, and circumference. Which measures serue not nor can howld in painting, for as Lamatzo truly speaketh, in the eleuenth chapter of Opticio, you cannot measure any part of your pictures by his true superficial, because painting perspectiue and forshortning (*fo.* 3) of lines, with due shadoing acording to the rule of the eye, by falshood to expresse truth in very cunning of line, and true obseruation of shadoing, especially in human shapes, as the figure lieth, boweth or standeth, and is situated, or is, and aptly shall be placed to deceaue the eye. For perspectiue, to define it breffly, is an art taken from or by the efect or iugment of the eye, for a man to express anything in short'ned lines and shadowes, to deseauie bothe the vnderstanding and the eye. This cassed the famous and eloquent Cissero to say, O how many things doe painters see in highning or lightning and shadowing which we deserue not.

And heer I enter myne opinion conserning the question whether of the two arts is the most worthy, painting or carueing: I say, if they be tow arts, painting is the worthier, as in the last leafe I hope I shall proue sufficiently. Againe I will doe cuning Albert no wronge, but right; dowbtles he was the most exquisite man that euer leaft vs lines to vieue for true delination, the most perfect shadower that euer graued in metall for true shadowes, and one of the best and truest in his perspectiue, but yet it must be thought, or rather heeld for sertaine, by reason that he was no great traueller, that he neuer sawe thosse faier creatures that the Italions

had seene, as Rousso, Raphel, and Lambertus Swanius &c., for besides a certaine true proportion, some of thirs doe excell his in kind of beautifulnes and sperit in the linament and jesture with delicacye of feature and limes, hands and feet surpassing all other portraictures of the Duch whatsoeuer, yea euen nature itself, except in very few, which rare beautys are (euen as the diamons are found amongst the sauage Indians) more commonly found in this yle of England then elsewhere, such surely as art euer must giue place vnto. I saye not for the face only, but euery part, for euen the hand and foet excelleth all pictures that yet I euer sawe. This moued a sertaine Pope to say that England was rightly called Anglia, of Angely, as the country of Angels, God grant it.

England
for
beautifull
cratures.

And now to the matter for precepts, for obseruations ore directions to the art of limning which you requier, as breefly and ar (*sic*) plainly as I can, concerning the best waye and meanes to practice and ataine to skill in limning: in a word befor I exhorted such to temperance, I meane sleepe not much, wath not much, eat not much, sit not long, vsse not violent excersize in sports, nor earnest for your recreation, but dancing or bowling, or littel of either.

Them (*sic*) the fierst and cheefest precepts which I giue is cleanlynnes, and therfor fittest for gentelmen, that the praticer of limning be presizly pure and klenly in all his doings, as in grinding his coulers in place wher ther is neither dust nor smoake, the watter wel chossen or distilled most pure, as the watter distilled frome the watter of some clear spring, or frome black cherize, which is the cleanest (*fo.* 3b) that euer I could find, and keepeth longest sweet and cleare, the goume to be goume aarabeeke of the whitest and briclest¹, broken into whit pouder one a faire and cleare grinding stone, and whit suger candy in like sort to be kept dry in boxes of iuory, the grinding-stone of fine cristall, serpentine, jasper or hard porfory; at the least let your aparell be silke, such as sheadeth lest dust dust (*sic*) or haire, weare nothing straight, beware you tuch not your worke with your fingers, or any hard thing, but with a cleane pencil brush it, or with a whit feather, neither breath one it, especially in could weather, take heed of the dandrawe of the head sheading from the haire, and of speaking

¹ i. e. most brittle: see J. A. H. Murray, *New English Dictionary*, s.v. Brickle.

ouer your worke for sparkling, for the least sparkling of spettel will neuer be holpen if it light in the face or any part of the naked.

Rule 2^d.*

The second Rulle is much like the first, and conserning the light and place wher you worke in. Let your light be no[r]thward somewhat toward the east, which comonly is without sune shininge in; on[e] only light, great and faire let it be, and without impeachment or reflections of walls or trees, a free sky light, the dieper the window and farer the better, and no by-window, but a cleare story in a place wher neither dust, smoak, noisse nor steanche may ofend. A good painter hath tender sences, quiet and apt, and the culers themsellues may not endure some ayers, especially in the sulfurous ayre of seacole and the guilding of gowld-smithes; sweet odors comforteth the braine and openeth the vnderstanding, augmenting the delight in limning. Discret talke or reading, quiet merth or musike ofendeth not, but shortneth the time and quickneth the sperit, both in the drawer and he which is drawne; also in any wisse auoyd anger, shut out questioners or busi fingers. All theesse things may be hadd, and this authority may best be vssed, by gentelmen; therfor in truth the art fitteth for them.

of Painting

Now knowe that all painting imitateth nature or the life in euerythinge, it resembleth so fare forth as the painters memory or skill can serue him to expresse, in all or any maner of story worke, embleme, empresse, or other deuice whatsoever; but of all things the perfection is to imitate the face of mankind, or the hardest part of it, and which carieth most prayesse and comendations, and which indeed one should not attempt vntill he weare metly good in story worke, soe neare and so weel after the life as that not only the party in all liknes for fauor and compection is or may be very well resembled, but euen his best graces and countenance notabelly expressed, for ther is no person but hath variety of looks and countenance, as well ilbecoming as pleassing or delighting.

Wherof it is not amis to say somewhat in briffe tuching this point, leauing the better handling therof to better wits, wherin the best shall find infinite arguments, right pleasant (*fo. 4*) to discour[s]e vppon; and herof it cometh that men commonly say of some drawer, he maketh

* The marginalia thus marked are in Vertue's or another comparatively modern hand; the rest are in the same hand as the text.

very like, but better yet for them then the party is indeed; and of some other they also say, he maketh very faier, but worsse faured. In the comlynes and beauty of the face, therfor, which giueth vs such pleasinge, and feedeth soe wonderful ower afecion mor then all the worlds treasure, it consisteth in three points: the first and least is the faire and beautiful couler or complection, which euen afare of[f] as neare is pleassing greatly all behoulders; the next and greater part is the good proportion sometime called fauore, wherof ouer deuine part vppon nearer vi[e]w, by an admirable instint of nature, jugeth generally, both in wise and foolish, yong or owld, learned and simpel, and knoweth by nature, without rule or reasson for it, whoe is well proportioned or well faured, etc.; but the third part & greatest of all is the grace in countenance, by which the afecions apeare, which can neither be weel vssed nor well juged of but of the wisser sort, and this principall part of the beauty a good painter hath skill of and should diligently noet, wherof it behoueth that he be in hart wise as it will hardly fail that he shal be amorous (and therefore fittest for gentelmen).

For whoe seeth an exelent precious stone, or discerneth an exelent peece of musike with skill indeede, and is not moued aboue others with an amorous joye and contentment then the vulger (howbeit gent[el] or vulgar wee are all generally commanded to turne away ouer eyes frome beauty of humayne shape, least it inflame the mind)? Howe then the curious drawer wach, and as it [were] catch these louely graces, wittye smilings, and these stolne glances which sudainely like lighting passe and another countenance taketh place, except hee behould, and very well noate and conceit to lyke? Soe that he can hardly take them truly, and expresse, them well without an affectionate good jugment and without blasting his younge and simpel hart, although (in pleassing admiration) he be very serious bussied. So hard a matter he hath in hand calling these graces one by one to their due places, notinge howe in smiling howe the eye changeth and narroweth, houlding the sight yust between the lides as a center, howe the mouth a littel extendeth both ends of the line vpwards, the cheekes rayse themselues to the eywards, the nosterels play and are more open, the vaines in the tempel appeare more and the cullour by degrees increaseth, the necke com-

monly erecteth itselfe, the eyebrowes make the straighter arches, and the forehead casteth itselfe into a plaine as it wear for peace and loue to walke vppon.

In like sort countenances of wroth, of feare, or of sorowe, haue their seuerall alterance of the face, and fare according to the mind is affected, may be many faces, some louly, some loathsom, some graue and wisse, some foolish and wanton, some proude and audacious, some poore and couardly; wherfor it would be longe to handel eury seuerall countenance, I leaue it therefore, althoug I could. But tuching or [*for a ?*] pleassing comly grace I haue sayd somewhat, because a sad and heauy countenance (*fo. 4 b*) in picture is sine of some eiuel. I leaue all the rest to the drawer to noet by the same example; and let him read Lamatzo his second bouc kof actions and jeastures, wher he shall find good obseruations.

Wisdome comprehendeth all things, it entereth into all arts, it goeth through them, and considereth of them, it turneth back againe and deuideth them, it placeth them in order and obserueth their seuerall graces. So chiefly the drawer should obserue the eys in his pictures, making them so like one to another as nature doeth, giuing life to his worke, for the eye is the life of the picture; and be sure likewise that the sircel of the sight be perfect round (for so much therof as appeareth), the senter truly placed in the midst therof; the reflection of the light, which apeareth like a whit spek, must be placed according to the light. This seemeth but a slight thing, howbeit the most fayleth therin; and noet this, as the position is or the drawer placed acording to art, the furthest eye from the drawer must be a littel hig[h]er then the hethermost, because of the perspectiue, if the drawer sit any deall hig[h]er then the party drawne; but if lower, then the further eye must be a littel lower; if leauel, then to be of one hight. So shall the worke by weel placing and trure (*sic*) doing of the eye haue great life; for of all the features in the face of a picture the eye showeth most life, the nosse the most fauor, and the mouth the most liknes, although liknes is contained in eury part, euen in eury feature, and in the cheekes, chinne, and forehead, with the compasse of the face, but yet cheefly in the mouth; wherfor, as I haue formerly sayd that the goodnes or ilnes of the liuing face consisteth in three things,

Position

life fauor
and liknes

- 1 (Compection)
 2 { Proportion } being the fauore,
 3 (Countenance)

so remember the goodnes of a picture after the liffe standeth cheefly also vppon three points

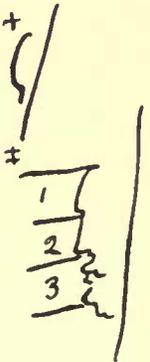
- 1 (Liffe)
 2 { Fauor } which chiefly consist in (Eye
 3 (Liknes) these three features (Nose
 Mouth.

Fauor and liknes are both one in some sence, as one would say of a picture after the liffe that it hath the very fauore of the party or the very liknes of the party, both is one thinge; but when one sayeth it is a wel fauored picture, and a well like picture, these differ; so meane I that the nosse giueth cheefe fauor, for one shall neuer see an ill fauored face that hath a weel proportioned nosse.

I find also that many drawers after the life, for want of true ruell or jugment, oftentimes fayles more in true proportion then they that without patterne drawe out of thier owne head, euen through the ill setting of the party drawne, which is also (*fo. 5*) the drauers fault that marketh not when the party remoueth, though it be neuer so littele. For if he one a sudaine remoue a great dealle then you marke it easely, and recall him to his first lyne, but the littele mouing leadeth you to a great error if you perceiue it not quickly, soe that they sometime make the eyes at one position or standing, the nosse at ane other, the mouth at an other, the eare at an other.

I amonish you of that fault, both sitter and drawer, which is the greatest cause of leeing the liknes in pictures. Marke weel, I saye therefore, when your worke is remoued neuer so littel recall him to his right waye or place, or proceed not; and to preuent this error your marke shalbe your first line which you drawe, but that must be most truly drawne, for that lyne must be a scalle to all the rest; and let that your first lyne be the forehead stroake, as for exampel.† Soe then you shall proceed by that scalle or scantlinge to doe all proportionablye to that bignes, as if the forehead be but so longe, then the rest of that lyne to the chine is but twice so long, as thus,‡ and so proceed still, weel marking when you loose that line, that is to say, when that lyne is

Observation



not to you, to your seeing, as when you first sawe it and drue it, for then your mark is remembred, which you shall best knowe and perceiue by the distance betweene the eye and that lyne, which also you must mark howe it was when you drwee that lyne, howe neare it or howe fare.

Albert Dure giueth this rulle, that comonly all faces howld one measure and true proportion (how differing soeuer they be of fauor): that the forehead is of the lenght of the nose, and the nose as long as frome the nose to the chinne; if it differ in this it is deformety (by this rule). Howebeit I haue knowne to howld in right good fauours in some feewe, but if I should for example name any, it must be such an on as most neuer kneue, or else it cannot well be graunted; therefore I wilbe bould to remember me of one, namly S^r. C. H., sometimes Lorde Chancellor of England, a man generally knowne and respected of all men amongst the best fauours, and to be one of the goodlyest personages of England, yet had he a very low forehead, not answerable to that good proportion of a third part of his face; and one the contrary part, infinit number of face there are which howld that proportion which Albert Duer commendeth, and yet ar but il fauored or vnpleasant faces to behowld (so God in nature hath for diference ordained it), but very rarly doth nature or hardly can art make a good fauor that shall not howld that true porportion. Wherfor he was a rare man, and had as rare fortune which differed therein, for if any of the three it may (*fo. 5 b*) differ without disgrace to fauore, the forehead maye differ rather in lenght and may be the longest, and hinder no fauour, which comonly if [*for is?*] seene in the most wisse and noble minded one, and ancient folke, wher the forehead euer waxeth higher and higher, and also doeth the nose (to keepe euen with it) growe a litel longer, or at the least decline at the toppe, but the lower part shortneth.

All men see a maruelious change in the face of mankind frome a child to an owld mane, but fewe can tell howe in parts it is wrought so to change by the efect of time. First therefore you shall vnderstand that a child of three years owld hath an eye as bige as a man, at the least the sircle of the sight if not the ball, the nose of no lenght answerable either to the forehead or distance from the nose downewards.

Sir Chr:
Hatton *

Proportion

Ergo Alberts porprotion (*sic*) howldeth not in childeren (wherof I knowe he was not ignorant); neither howldeth it in owld folke, for the forehead waxeth higher, the nose longer, and so consequently the mouthe and chine, sometime for want of teethe, shorter, as in men shauen most easaly is deserned, more then in other because of their beards. Then Albert meant that such proprotion (*sic*) howldeth but at rippe years, as frome fourteene to forty or fiuty, or therabouts.

I would willingly giue many obseruations tuching proportion fit to be knowne, but the bouck is great already, wherfor I omit them porposly, yet one wourd more in remembrance of an excelent man, namely S^r. Philip Sidny, that noble and most valiant knight, that great scoller and excelent poet, great louer of all vertu and cuninge: he once demanded of me the question, whether it weare possible in one scantling, as in the lenght of six inches of a littel or short man, and also of a mighty bige and taulle man in the same scantling, and that one might weel and apparently see which was the taule man, and which the littel, the picture being just of one lenght. I showed him that it was easely decerned if it weare cuningly drawne with true obseruations, for ouer eye is cuninge, and is learned without rulle by long vsse, as littel lads speake their vulger tonge without gramour rulls. But I gaue him rules and suficient reasons to noet and obserue, as that the littel man[s head is] comonly as great as the tawle man[s], then of necesity the rest of the body must be the lesse in that same scantling, a littel man comonly hath also comonly short legs and thieghes in comparison to his bulke of body or head, but though the head be as great as the (*fo. 6*) tall mans, yet shall his forme and face and countena[n]ce be fare otherwise, easey enough to diserne. The talle man hath comonly low showlders, long shankes, thiegs, armes, hands, and feet, wherwith ouer eye is so comonly aquainted thatwithout rule to vs knowne it knoweth it straight, but if an ile painter come which will make a childs head as littel for his body as a tall mans (a childe is but fower times the lenght of his face, and a man tene tymes and more), or his eye as littel for his face as a mans, or his nose as great, I will not take vpon me to knowe his tall man from a dwarfe. There is notwithstandinge much faire worke wherin such grosse error is, and much disproportion and false per-

Sir P.
Sidney *

spectiue, but [by] neatnes and well coulloring the worke oft times soe graceth the matter that common eys neuer note it, but men do beleue it to be exquesit and perfect because of the neatnes. But knowe it you for a truth that the cheefest mastery and skill consisteth in the true proportion and line, and a tall mans picture exactly drawne but in the lenght of sixe inches shall shewe to be a taller mans picture then a littel mans picture drawne at the lenght of fowre and twenty inches, or in his owne full height, if his true shape be obserued, and so of horses and other beasts and cattell the like. Lamatzo confirmeth this by naming some man to be sixe heads, some of tenne, some of twelue; other authors the like.

Forget not therefore that the principal parte of painting or drawing after the life consiste[t]h in the truth of the lyne, as one sayeth in a place that he hath seene the picture of her Majestie in fower lynes very like, meaning by fower lynes but the playne lynes, as he might as well haue sayd in one lyne, but best in plaine lines without shadowing, for the lyne without shadowe showeth all to a good jugment, but the shadowe without lyne showeth nothing. As for exampl though the shadowe of a man against a whit wall showeth like a man, yet is it not the shadowe but the lyne of the shadowe which is so true that it resembleth excelently well. As drawe but that lyne about the shadowe with a coall, and when the shadowe is gone it will resembel better then before, and may, if it be a faire face, haue sweet countenance euen in the lyne, for the line only giueth the countenance, but both lyne and coulour giueth the liuely liknes, and shadows showe the roundnes and the effect or defect of the light wherin the picture was drawne.

This makes me to remember the wourds also (*fo. 6 b*) and reasoning of her Majestie when first I came in her Highnes presence to drawe, whoe after showing me howe shee notied great difference of shadowing in the works and diuersity of drawers of sundry nations, and that the Italians, [who] had the name to be cunningest and to drawe best, shadowed not, requiring of me the reason of it, seeing that best to showe onesselfe nedeth no shadow of place but rather the oppen light; to which I graunted, [and] affirmed that shadowes in pictures weare indeed caused by the shadow of the place or coming in of the light as only one waye into the place at

Q. Eliza-
beth *

Q. Eliza-
beth *

some small or high windowe, which many workmen couet to worke in for ease to their sight, and to giue vnto them a grosser lyne and a more aparant lyne to be deserned, and maketh the worke imborse well, and shewe very wel afar of, which to liming work nedeth not, because it is to be weewed of nesity in hand neare vnto the eye. Heer her Majestie conseued the reason, and therfor chosse her place to sit in for that porposse in the open ally of a goodly garden, where no tree was neere, nor anye shadowe at all, saue that as the heauen is lighter then the earthe soe must that littel shadowe that was from the earthe. This her Majestie[s] curiouse d[e]maund hath greatly bettered my jugment, besids diuers other like questions in art by her most excelent Majestie, which to speake or writ of weare fitter for some better clarke.

This matter only of the light let me perfect, that noe wisse man Light longer remaine in error of praysing much shadowes in pictures after the life, especially small pictures which ar to be wiued in hand: great pictures placed high ore farr of requier hard shadowes or become the better then nearer in story worke better then pictures of the life, for beauty and good fauor is like cleare truth, which is not shamed with the light, nor neede to bee obscured, so a picture a littel shadowed maye be bourne withall for the rounding of it, but so greatly smuted or darkned as some vsse disgrace it, and is like truth ill towld. If a very weel fauored woman stan[d] in place wher is great shadowe, yet showeth shee louly, not because of the shadow, but because of her sweet fauor consisting in the lyne or proportion, euen that littel which the light scarsly sheweth greatly pleaseth, mouing the desier to see more, ergo more would see more; but if she be not very fayre together with her good proportion, (*fo. 7*) as if to palle, too red, or frekled etc., then shadowe to shewe her in doeth her a fauore. Wherefore I conclud great shadowe is a good signe in a pictur after the life of an ill cause, and sheweth plainly that either the drawer had no good sight to diserne his shadowes except they weare grosse, or had a bad light to drawe in, to high or to lowe, or to littel, or else the party drawne needeth and choose thosse shadowes for the causes aboue sayd, or it was perhaps for some speciall deuce or affection of the stander to be drawne in so standing.

Knowe this also, that to shadowe sweetly (as wee weell calle it) and

round well, is a fare greater cuning then shadowing hard or dark, for to round a worke well canot be without some shadowe, but so to shadowe as if it weare not at all shadowed is best shadowed, for a round ball is a round ball in the oppen light, where the light cometh euery way, as weel as in a seller, wher it cometh in at a littel gratt. But euerything in his true kind is to be allowed of, as is required of necessity in the story or deuce, that is wher the matter consisteth more in a strange light then in the liknes of the party so drawne, as if one must be drawne or painted blowing the coalle in the darke to light a candel, wee must then shadowe accordingly, making no light but that which comes from the coale vntill the candel be lighted, so when the action in the story or the deuce in the picture requireth it, them (*sic*) I highly comend it, and discomend their obsurdyty which omit it. As if one should make the troupe of Judas going to seeke Christ in the garden by night with torches and lanthornes or any fier works, or asaultinge a city by night and should make a cleare sky and faire day both one them and all the landship, weare it neuer so well painted it weare not to the purposse or matter, but rediccalious and false; for ther the matter consisteth consisteth (*sic*) chifly one the trayterous act done by night and such prouision as they had for light, more then in any liknes of the lyfe in any of their pictures: wherfor hee gaue then a signe, saying 'Whome I kisse, that is he', least they should not see if hee had but pointed at him, or discribed him. Paulo Lamatzo maintaineth mine oppinion, more then any other that euer I hard, in his bouck, saing 'What is shadowe but the defect of light?'

Coullers

Nowe a word or toe (*fo. 7 b*) of coullors, for which as [*for ar?*] fit for limning, and which ar not. All ill smelling coullers, all ill tasting, as orpament, verdigres, verditer, pinck, lapgrene, litmousy, or any vnsweet coulers ar naught for limning, vsse none of them if you may chusse. If masticot, ceder grene, galleston, powncky greene, Indy blewe and vltermarine may be gotten, theese and most other cullers ought to be grinded (except the litmouse or pansy greene, which is a sape greene), but wash it first, the finest frome the coursest drosse, and then softly grind it againe, weel cleansing your stone to euery seuerall collore.

Nowe to speake of the number of cullers. Some authors sayeth, ther are but toe cullers, which are black and whit, because indeed in whit and

black all things are or maye be in a maner very well discribed, as apeareth in the well grauen portaiture of Albert Dure, Hendriik Goltzius and others, and indeed all painting is performed by ligh[t]ning and shadowing, which may be termed whit and black, for light and darknes, in what coullor soeuer it be; therfor first I will speake of whit and black: whether th[e]y be the only coullours, or no coullers at all (as many others say), for my part I thinke them worthiest to be first placed being the most vsed.

Of whits, whitlead the best pict out and grinded, and dried on a Whits chalke stone in trenches made in the stone for that purpose, and afterwards grinded againe, after a dayes grinding with gume arabeck, and wash it, it becometh a good whit for limning; and by the washing to sorts ar mad, Iter (*sic*) serusa, which is made fine, vsed in the same sort, and in the making you shall make three sorts therof: the first and finest, 1 which will glisten, I call sattin whit; the next in finnes is good for 2 linning etc.; the last and coursest, being once againe grinded, is best to 2 (*sic*) be vsed for the flesh couller, properly called carnations, which in no sort ought to haue any glistning. That with a very littel red lead only aded maketh the fairest carnations; if the party be a littel paller, lesse read lead and a littel masticot amonge; if yet browner, more of each and a littel oker de Ruse withall. Other whits may be made of diuers things, as of the bones of a lambe and of yong burnt, also of some (*fo. 8*) sheels, as ege shells and oyster sheels, but thosse whits are to be vsed for other porposses fitter then for limning. Ther is also an excelent whit to be made of quicksiluer, which draweth a very fine lyne; this whit the women painters vsse. Noet also the sattine seruce, grinded with oyle of whit popy, whitneth vpp pearles in oyle coullors most excelently, and it serueth not as the linseed oyle doeth, but it is long in dryinge; this is an experience of mine owne finding out.

The best blacke is veluet blacke, which is iuory burnt in a crucible Blackes and luted that ayre enter not, mix therfor your lutting with a littel salt and let it nealle redd hot a quarter of an hower, then lett it coole and grind it with gume watter only, and washe it in this maner: power watter to it by littel and littel, still stirringe it, and when it is as thine as inke or thinner let yt settele a wholle afternoone and poure from it the

vppermost, which is but the gume and fowlnes, good to put amonge inke. The rest let drye, and keepe it in a paper or boxe and vsse it as aforsaid with soft grinding it againe, or tempering, but one the grinding stone with watter adding gume in powder to it againe at discretion, for you shall by vssing it perceiue if it haue too littel gume, for then it worketh ill and dryeth to fast; if you put too much gume, then it will be somewhat bright lyke oyle callor, which is uyled¹ in lymning. Take this for a generall rule, that lymning must excell all painting in that point, in that it must giue eury thing his proper lustre, as weel as his true cullor, light, and shadowe. Other blackes are made in lyke maner, as of chery stones, date stones, peach stones, and common charkecole, willowecolle, or anythinge that burneth burneth (*sic*) blacke: these burnt and grinded as aforsaid, but they need no washinge.

His own
practice*

Noate also that veluet blacke, after it is drye in the shell, it worketh neuer more soe weell as at the first grinding or tempering; wherfore for principall workes, and euen for the centor of the eye, being but a littel tytyle, I vse alwayes to temper a lyttle one my grinding stone; hauing it alwayes in powder ready grinded, washt, and dryed for store. Soe vse I to haue most of my other cullors, that I may easely temper then (*sic*) with my finger in a shell, adding gume at discretion; soe haue I them alwayes cleane and fayer and easier to worke. Thus a limner should doe, but for sparing time and cost (*fo.* 8 b) some vsse to worke out of their ould shells of cullors, thoughe they be naught and dusty.

Now besides whittes and blacks, there are but fiewe other principall cullors which are cullors of perfection in themselues, not participatinge with any other, nor can be made of any other mixed cullors; and of them fiewe are neuerthesse dyuers kinds, so as with them are made by mixture murrey, redd, blewe, greene and yellow.

Murreys
I

First, murreye for limning must be a lake of himselfe of a murrey cullore, which kind of lake is best made at Venice and neatly good in Antwerpen. If you be driuen of other lake, with adding a littel blewe to it, to make your morrey, it can neuer be so good. This lake is to be grinded but with gume arrabecke watter only, although when it is ouer drye in the shell yt hardly relenteth to worke weel againe, then grind more.

¹ i. e. vile, see J. O. Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaisms*, s.v. vild.

Redd for limning: the best is lake of India, which breaketh of a scarlet or staniel cullor. Dyuers othe[r] lakes ther are, some which will shadowe one vppon another, they are so blacke, and all those blacke lacks generally must be grinded with some suger candye amonge the gume and some altogether with suger; they cannot be to much grinded, nor need any washinge; longe standinge open in the sunne marreth your lakes and almost all collors, so ouerbaking them, hardninge or drying them that they will neuer worke well. Vermelion is another redd, and is to be grinded and washt; redd lead to be but washt only, the finest of it to limninge, twoo sorts of it. Redds²

For limninge the darkest and highest blewe is vtermaryne of Venice. Of the best I haue payed iij^s viij^d a carret, which is but fower graines, xjⁱⁱ x^s the ounce; and the worst, which is is (*sic*) but badd, will cost ij^s vj^d the carret, vijⁱⁱ x^s the ounce, insteed wherof wee vse smalt of the best, blewe byces of diuers sorts, some paler then other, some of seauen or sixe degrees one aboue another. These may be grinded, but better broken lykeammel in a stone mortar of flint excelent smouthe with a pestel of flint o[r] aggat, well stirred till it be fine, with gume watter only, and washed; soe haue you many sorts, and all good. Shadowinge blews are litmouse and Indy blewe, and flory; these need no washing, nor litmouse any grinding, but steeped in lee of sope ashes, vse gume at discretion as aforsaid. Blewes³

Greene: the best for limning is cedar greene, insteed wherof wee take verditer. Pinke is also a nedfull greene in (*fo. 9*) lantscippe, and mixed with byce ashes makes another faire deepe greene; so likewise your pincke mixed with masticot and serusa as you see cause for light greens. Alle these neede washing and not grinding, and all common greens, as common sapgreene, flower de luce greene, or pauncy greene, neede neither grinding nor washing, but steepinge in watter, or in lee which is better. Greens⁴

Yeallowe: the best are masticotts, wherof there are d[i]uers sorts, some paller then some, yeallowe oker for want of better is one also; and these washt and not grinded doe best, and must haue a littel suger amonge the gume in tempering them. Shadowing yeallowes are the stones found in the oxe gall, grinded with gume watter and not washt, and yeallows made of whit roses brused with a littel allumm and Yeallowes⁵

strayned, and neither grinded nor washt, nor nedeth gume. One maye shifte with faire oker de Rouse and safaran watter for want of the other; first shadowe vppon masticote with yealowe oker, and with oker de Rouse. For shadowinge cullors which are browne or blackishe or heire cullor, which are as necessary as any other cullors, you haue earth of Cullen, vंबर, spalte, and oker Rouse, and soote may also be vssed in story worke; gume watter vse only vnto these.

A word, I praye you, tuchinge the making of those beautifull rubies or other stones, how you soe arteficially doe them, that being neuer so littel they seme precious stones, naturall, cleere and perspicuous: soe that (by your fauor) is no parte of limming, wherfore requier it not. It appertaineth merly to ane other arte; and though I vse it in my limming, it is but as a mayson or joyner, when he hath done his worke, and cane also paynt or guilde his freeses and needfull parts therof. Now that you haue true waye for orderinge your coullors, vnderstand that in drawing after the life you must not change your light, but end your worke in the same light you begone in, if you posiblye maye.

Parchment
or vellum*

Knowe also that parchment is the only good and best thinge to limme one, but it must be virgine parchment, such as neuer bore haire, but younge things found in the dames bellye; some calle it vellym, some abertiue (deriued frome the word abhortiue for vntimly birthe). It must be most finly drest, as smothe as any sattine, and pasted with starch well strained one pastbourd well burnished, that it maye be pure without speckes or staynes, very smoothe and white.

Carnations

Then must you laye your carnation flowing and not thine driuen as ane oyle cullore; and when you begine your picture choose your carnations too fayre, for in working you maye make (*fo. 9 b*) it as browne as you will, but being chosen to browne you shall neuer worke it fayer enough, for limming is but a shadowing of the same cullor your grownd is of, and soe generally all ground cullor in limming must be layd flowing, not toe full flowing neither, for cockling your carde etc., but somewhat flowing, that it dry not befor your pensill vntill you haue done, least it seme patched and roughe. Also when you drawe vppon the said complection a carnation ground culler, be verye well aduised what

lines you drawe, and drawe them very lightly with some of the same carnation and a littel lake amonge, very thinly mixtwred, or with thine lake alone, with a very smalle pensile, that it scarce at first maye be discerned, till you be sure you bee in the right waye, for afterwards ther is no alteration when the lyne is apparant, or very hardly. Therefore in your shadowing vsse also the same discretion to shadowe, but by littel and littel at the first, for littel, not regarding what the ignorant say, which wilbe alwayes teaching. For there be faults which must be done of porposse, being faults which may be amended, for feare you comit faults which cannot be amended; for the face made neuer so littel to redd or to browne in limning is neuer to be amended; the face to leane, the forehead to lowe, or haire to darke, is not or very hardly to be amended, but the botching or mending wilbe perceiued wher one hath taken away any caler one the face, for the carnation will neuer be of the same cullor againe, nor will joyne so smoothe wher any other cullor hath bene layde. Make the forheade to highe at the first, therefore, to be sure you maye mend it, and be not hastye to lessen it at euery mans worde, but proccede with iugment.

I haue euer noted that the better and wiser sort will haue a great patience, and marke the proceedinges of the workman, and neuer find fault till albe fynished. If they find a fault, they doe but saye, I thinke it is to much thus or thus, referring it to better iugment, but the ignoranter and basser sort will not only be bould precisly to say, but vemently sweare that it is thus or soe, and sweare so contrarely that this volume would not containe the rediculious absurd speeches which I haue hard vppon such occasions. Theis teachers and bould speakers are commonly seruants of rude vnderstandinge, which partly would flater and partly shewe but howe bowld they may be to speake thire opinions. My counsel is that a mane should not be moued to anger for the matter, but proccede with his worke in order, and pittie thyer ignorance (*fo. 10*), being sure they will neuer robe men of their cuning, but of their worke peraduenture if they can, for commonly wher the witte is small the conscience is lesse.

Criticisms
of his
sitters*

When your cullors are drye in the shell you are to temper them with your ringe finger very cleane when you will vsse therof, adding

a littel gume if it temper not well and flowingly, but beware of to much; if any cullor crack to much in the shell, temper therwith a littele sugar candye, but a very littel, least it make it shine. Want of guming it causeth the cullor tempere like lome or claye etc. and drawes no fine line. If a cullor will not take by reason that some sweatye hand hand (*sic*) or fattye finger hath touched your parchement therabout, temper with that cullor a very littel eare waxe, but euen to give it but a tast as it weare, the same is good likewyse if any cullor pill of to temper the cullor you amend it withall, and it will pill no more. Liqued goolde and silluer must not be tempered with the finger but only with the penssel, and with as littel gume as will but bind it that it wype not of with euery touch, and with a prety littel toothe of some ferret or stote or other willde littele beast.

Diamonds
and pearle
and other
stones

You may burnish your goold or siluer here or there as neede requireth, as your siluer when you make your diamonds first burnished then drawne vppon with black in squares lyke the diamond cutt. Other stones must be glased vppon the siluer with their proper cullors with some varnish etc.; the pearles layed with a whit mixed with a littel black, a littel Yndy blew, and a littel masticot, but very littel in comparison of the whit, not the hundred parte. That being dry, giue the light of your pearle with siluer somewhat more to the light side then the shadowe side, and as round and full as you cane, then take good whit delayed with a littel masticot, and vnderneath at the shadowe side giue it a compassing stroke which showes the reflection that a pearle hath, then without that a smale shadowe of seacole vndermost of all. Paulo Lamatius in the last chapter of his fowerth bouck very truly (but absurd [*sic*]) sheweth that euerything must be shadowed in his kind; which discretion is not giuen to euery painter after the liffe, but they will shadowe a faire face with a browne shadowe, and following the story works, which shadowes the whole face with one shadowe for hast.

Shadowing

Shadowing in lymning must not be driuen with the flat of the pensel as in oyle worke, (*fo. 10 b*) distemper, or washing, but with the pointe of the pencell by littel light touches with cullor very thine, and like hatches as wee call it with the pen; though the shadowe be neuer so

great it must be all so done by littel touches, and touch not to longe in one place, least it glisten, but let it dry ane howre or to, then dipen it againe. Wherefore hatching with the pene, in imitation of some fine well grauen portrature of Albertus Dure small peeces, is first to be practised and vsed, b[e]fore one begine to limme, and not to learne to limme at all till one canne imitate the print so well as one shall not knowe the one frome the other, that he maye be able to handle the pensill point in like sort. This is the true order and principall secret in limning, which that it maye be the better remembred, I end with it.

And nowe I thinke it fitt also to speake somewhat of precious stones, which wilbe meet for gentelmen to vnderstand, and some gouldsmithes wilbe glad to see it for their better instruction. I saye, for certayne truth, that ther are besides whit and black but fyue perfect cullors in the world; which I proue by the fyue principall precious stones (bearing cullor), and which are all bright and transparent stones, as followeth. These are the fyue stones: ammatist orient for murrey, rubie for red, saphire for blew, emrod for greene, and hard orient topies for yellowe; more ther are not which are soe very hard and orient as these fyue. Nowe is proued, that the absolute orient and hardest transparent precious stones of proper and vnmixed cullors are only fyue, viz:—

<i>Anmatist</i>	} <table border="0"> <tr> <td><i>Murrey</i></td> <td rowspan="6">} These fyue only cullors, in grosse cullors, with their different mixtures, make more of many kinds, euenen all maner of cullors as you list to haue them by tempering them together, which weare long to repeate in writing.</td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Rubye</i></td> <td><i>Redd</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Saphier</i></td> <td><i>Blewe</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Emarod</i></td> <td><i>Greene</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Topias</i></td> <td><i>Yeallowe</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Oriental</i></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	<i>Murrey</i>	} These fyue only cullors, in grosse cullors, with their different mixtures, make more of many kinds, euenen all maner of cullors as you list to haue them by tempering them together, which weare long to repeate in writing.	<i>Rubye</i>	<i>Redd</i>	<i>Saphier</i>	<i>Blewe</i>	<i>Emarod</i>	<i>Greene</i>	<i>Topias</i>	<i>Yeallowe</i>	<i>Oriental</i>	
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And as for m[i]xture of cullors, if you will see fine varyetic, behold Rainbowe the rainbowe, and therin shall you find an excellent mixture of all the transparent cullors, for there is nothing but mixt cullors: as first murrey, by mixture growing into or vnto blewe, blewe growing into greene, greene growing into yellow, yellow into redd, red againe into murrey, murrey into a purpel, being mixed with the skey cullor. This exampel (*fo. 11*) of the rainbowe sheweth the naturall mixture of cullors, and a sweete and agreeable varietie in their mixtures; for they vary and agree in such a kindly beautifull order, as all the art of the worlde

cannot amend it by mixture or other order, nor well in artè compare by imitation with the same. But the fyue precious stones resemble vnto vs the true beautie of each perfect cullor in his full perfection, without mixture, in perfect hard bodies and very transparent.

Annatist
Orient

As first of murrey: in the annatist orient haue you only perfect murrey without mixture; it is an hard stone and on of the principall precious stones. There are diuers more kinds of annatists, as annatist almane & annatists of sundry other countrys, colde regions, all which are of diuers other cullors. I would speake only of these fyue which I haue nominated, but least men should be deceiued or mistaken I am forced to name and mention the other baser stones of all the cullors, as of annatist almane; some are purple, some violett, some carnation, some peach cullor, and some a browne smoakye cullor like watter wherin soote hath layen, and of all these cullors their is great variety of each, some paller then other; these are, as I saye before, all mixed cullors, and softe stones in each of the fyue kinds of stones, as I will hereafter shewe you. Take this therfor for a generall rulle, that the most precious stones, the hardest, deerest, and rarest to fynde, are these fyue only which I haue named, and which haue their proper cullors only in them, and that of more substance and beauty transpareant and pure, not of a thicke or troubled matter, but clere and yet not pale. Wherefore as I haue formerly spoken of the annatist orient, it is a hard stone and right precious, delighting the hart exceedingly the hart exceedingly (*sic*) to behould, but all the other repeated mixt cullors are softe stones of smale value in comparison to those of perfect cullors; and although a very darke purpule is founde in some of the annatist almaine, a cullor of a more substance for his cullor, I saye vnto you, as before I haue sayd, purpele is not a proper cullor, but mixt cullor, made of murrey & blewe, or redd and blewe, soe ouerblewed and darkened that the Frenchmen rightly terme it annatist le plus (*fo. 11b*) triste, a sade melancholy cullor, delighting but some humore and fitting to porpose but one some fewe occasions. Noate also that the annatist oryent, being a perfect cullor and a hard stone, hath therefore his watter more bright and lucide then any soft stone can haue; which brightnes is the cheefe

thinge wherby the lapidarie knoweth at the first sight the vallewe, goodnes, and hardnes of the stone, as shalbe more plainely shewed in the diamond hereafter. Noate therfore when any stone wanteth that liuely brightnes, it is either a safte stone, a thine stone, or a clowdye faulty stone althoughe it be hard.

Now the next perfect cullor, which is redd: the rubye is the most perfect redd, and if he be without blemish, and so great and thicke as he maye beare the proportion of diamond cut, he flickereth and affecteth the eye like burning fyer, especially by the candel light. This stone therfore of some is called, and rightly maye be called, the carbunckle, soe called [from] the worde Carbo, which is fyer, or a cole of fyer; neither is ther any other carbunckel which cane resemble fyer so well, except a redd diamond, which yet I neuer sawe, but haue harde of only. Yet haue I seene a diamond of the cullor of a jasent, somewhat orrenge tawny, and a diamond greene as a grisolytt, and a diamond blewe as a pale blew saphire, many yellowe and many browne. The rubye ballas is more pale, lyke a pale wine, and no perfect full cullor, and it is therfore a softer s[t]one, and of lesse valewe, soe are all rubye ballas. Now spynells and garnets of diuers sorts are reddish also, and resemble rubyes and annatists orient meetelye well, but they are to be knowne by the softnes on the myll in cutting, and partly by their want of that brightnes which the hard stone hath, and want of perfect cullor, but a redd mixed with yeallowe more fyer then perfect redd, a stone of much delight and good valewe, but of lesse then the rubie, for it is softer, as all mixed cullors are softer then the perfect cullors; and of the spinalls also ther are a paler kinde, lyke a delicate ould paled wyne, which resemble rubie ballas in like maner.

Also garnets there are sundry sorts, some called garnets suryma, resembling much the annatist orient, but a littel blacker & redder then the true murrey. The more common sorte of garnetts are very redish, yea blacker then true redd, and somewhat yeallowish. Jasent labella is a kind of redd, very yeallowish (*fo.* 12), like the saffreon blade, but transparent and beautifull as any spinaller garnett, and as hard and bright. The common jasent is orrenge tawnye, a mixt cullor also.

Vermyle

Then ther is another kind of redd stone called vermyle, which are very small and neuer found greater then a pease, but commonly no bigger then rapeseed: a red more resembling blood then rubye, and is not that perfect crimson redd, most like the kirnelles of very ripe pomegranat, which nature hath commended vnto vs in the rubye to be the principall red cullor; yet this littel poore stone hath that speciall vertue to endure the fyre, which none of the fornamed stones cann doe soe well.

Saphire
blewe

Nowe saphire, wherof there be two kinds or two cullors, white and blewe, which blewe is the most excelent perfect blewe that nature in anything yealdeth, or arte can compose. This stone excelleth in hardnes all stones (diamond excepted), and soe consequently in brightnes of watter, as before argued, which is proued when nature yealdeth him whitte. If he be well cutt he is matchable with any diamonds, especially of the greater ones, for a great diamond is not so faire for his bignes commonly as a littel one, and a littel saphier not soe faire as a great one for his bignes. The reason is that the diamond cutter, for sparing the stone, if it be great, will not cutt any away of his circumference to giue his diamond full shape as he maye, and will doe a littel stone; neither doeth nature giue to great ones (but rarely) any such good proportion or thicknes to their breadth as haue the littel ones commonly, and this is generall both in stone and pearle, the greater the worse proportioned. Therefore proportion giuen to a stone by arte, by the cuning artificer, helpeth nature, and addeth beautye as well as nature doeth, to the great commendations of that misterye or sience.

Knowe this therefore, that as the bade workman spoiles many a good juell both in cutting, pulishing, and also in the setting, soe an excelent workman cann grace them aboue that which nature giue them both in cutting, setting, and making them in valewe double of that they weare before; therefore he is better worthy of fowerfolde better payment then any other, though paraduventure (*fo.* 12 b) he doe it much soner, but commonly they are indeed longer about their worke, which maketh that they are poorer then the bunglers. For while the good workman taketh pleasure to shewe his art and cuning aboue othe[r] men in one

peece (in what art soeuer), the botcher dispatches six or seauen, and giues it a good word or a boaste, keeping his promise within his time, which greatly pleaseth most men, for indeed the tyme is all in most matters, as sayet[h] one, A thing well done out of due time is ill done; and soe hee getteth credit & custome which keepeth time, wherby he is able to set many other at work, which, though they be all bungler and spoilers, yet please in respect of good cheapnes and keeping of promise, and so growe rich.

The good workman also which is soe excelent dependeth one his owne hand, and can hardly find any workmen to worke with him, to heelp him to keepe promise, and worke as well as himselfe, which is a great mischeefe to him. Neither is he alwayes in humore to inploye his spirits on some worke, but rather one some other. Also such men are commonly noe mysers, but liberall aboue their littel degree, knowing howe bountifull God hath indued them with skill aboue others; also they are much giuen to practises, to find out newe skills, and are euer trying conclusions, which spendeth both their tyme (*sic*) and mony, and oftentimes when they haue performed a rare peece of worke (which they indeede cannot afforde) they will giue it awaye to some worthy personage for very affect[i]on and to be spoken of. They are generally giuen to trauel, and to confere with wise men, to fare meetly well and to serue their fantasies, hauing commonly many childeren if they be maryed; a[ll] wh[i]ch are causes of inpouerishment, if they be not stockt to receaue thereupon some profit by other trade, or that they be, as in other countries, by pencion or reward of princes otherwise vphelde and competently mayntayned, although they be neuer soe quicke nor soe cuning in their professions, depending but one their owne hand helpe.

Thus much I thought neede to insert in respect of the common opinion, or common slander (*fo. 13*) rather, which is, that cuning men are euer vnthrifts and theerfor generally poore indede, when by the causes afore sayde they are fallen poore, they haue a more vnthrifty sheewe then others, for they will spend still if they cann come buy it, soe that I thinke they haue the liberall sciences, and it is a vertue in them, and becometh them like men of vnderstanding. If a man bring them a

rare peece of worke, they will giue more for it then most men of tenne times their abilitye, and in other countries they are men of great wealth for the most parte. Then you, to whome it apertaineth to knowe, may perceiue the reason in p[ar]te why they are not so heere, the more is the pittye.

Emerodde

Well nowe for greene, for certainly the emrod is the most perfect greene on earth growing naturally, or that is in any thinge or that is possible by arte to make (if it be an emerodd of the owld myne), but rarely of the newe myne are they soe faire greene, for they are commonly paler, as it weare mixed with seae greene, and eemerodd of Perooe is of a thicke and troubled watter. There are in truth of these three kinds of emrods, of each kinde diuers cullors. Noate also that of all the fine precious stones there are sometimes white ones, hauing no cullor at all, but cleere as christall, which are better in regard of the rarity then those which haue cullor (except their cullor be in perfection); and sometime there are found party-cullored, as emrods the one halfe greene and the other halfe pure cleare white, and soe likewise of all the otheres of the fyue stones; such for the rarity are of the most price, and ought to be set soe as one maye see the stone one both sides to be the naturall stone only, else it seemeth counterfeit by arte. There are also sundry other greenish stones, which are no kind of emrods, nor soe good of vallue, namely griselite, which is poppingey greene, egmeryne, which is a sea greene, and burill, which is yet a more blweish greene, and are found very great, but if small they be of small price or estimation.

I might well resemble these stones vnto vs mankind, wherof some be excelent and precious, and the common sort at first wiewe are like also vnto them, but if you marke them weell you (*fo.* 13 b) shall find them mixed cullors, dissembler softe stones, not able to endure nor comprehend scyence nor valorous deeds; and as a good stone maye bee yll set and ill vsed, soe that hee is sould for naught, soe a good seruant nor [*for* not?] vsed in his kinde falleth frome the ignorant to a better master, and that, as I said, if the base stones be greeat they are esteemed. Whoe doubts of that? It is the like of me.

Yeallowes

Nowe of yeallowes, the best is the topas orient or most perfect



(a) Full length. The exact size of the original.



(b) Head and bust. Enlarged to twice the size of the original.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN LEANING AGAINST A TREE.

By Nicholas Hilliard

(Salting Bequest, Victoria and Albert Museum)

gould yeallowe. If this stone want of his yeallownes his vallue is the lesse, except hee be pure whit, and haue noe yellowe at all, for then resembleth he the diamond, as dothe also the whit saphire, which is somewhat harder then the topas, but very little. Topas is better then white saphire if it be naturaly whit, because it resembleth more the best watter of a diamond, which is to incline a littell to yellowe, and will abyde to be sett and cutt on tynne no [*for in ?*] the diamond myll, as the diamond doth with diamond powder very well done. And the yellow topas, which is but by arte, as by fyer, burnt white, will oftentimes returne to his perfect yellowe againe, a thinge admirable. And a pale blewe saphire which hath a greenes in his blewe will neuer burne white, but rather recouer more blewnes, which is greatly to be marueled att likewise.

Thus haue I sufficiently proued the fyue principall cullors by the fyue precious stones of most price, the diamond excepted, which properly is of no cullor, but a cleare watter cullor or ayre cullor, so lucyde and bright as hauing his due forme; his splendor or light is somtimes called his fyer and somtimes his watter, by which his brightnes and his hardnes is knowne; as for exsample, allome or sugar candy or gums are somewhat bright and hard, but not soe hard and bright as cristall, saphire nothing so hard nor bright as diamond, which is indeede the brightest and therefore the hardest of all the precious stones.

I haue discoursed at large of all the perfect cullors which are in the fyue stones only, and a[l]so of the other mixed cullors, which are in all the other vnder stones of softer and basser kinds; but now (as it weare in a riddle) I demand what stone is that which hath (*fo. 14*) in it two distinct and perfect cullors very apparent, and hath in it noe cullor at all, yet, if one looke longe into it, it hath many cullors radient and strange, but the diamond? And although white and blacke be both thicke cullors in painting, and not transparent, yet in the diamond they are cullors transparent and cleere and which may be counted amongst the transparent cullors both of whit and blacke, if whit and black weare counted cullors, as they are not, wherfore I set them downe for no cullor, although indeede nothing hath his light more white, nor his

shadowe more black; and being cleere, more cleerer then ayre, yet being set on his black teyntor, or on any black pitch molten fast vnderneath vnto him, he changeth not his bright cleere whitnes as any other stone would doe, as topas, saphiere, white rubye, or whatsoever, which is a most admirable thinge to consider among the secretts in nature, and is the best waye to knowe a diamond frome another stone without hurting it. This secret is not to be deuulged, because stolne things are brought to sell and therefore [a thief is] oftentimes taken by his owne ignorantnes of the thinge hee offereth to sell, but the best hope is, they reade but fewe good bookes which vse such facshions.

Opall

Now their is another stone which hath all cullors in itselfe, apparently some blacke that are transparentt cullors, namly the opall, which in it hath a perfect fyer cullor, and all the cullors in the rainebowe, though not placed in that order, but in a broken changable and retracted order, which changeth his reflections with euery turne through a sertaine cloudie cleere milkeish whitnes lyke a ———¹ but the lesse it hath whitnes the better it is. This stone is of a great value if he be great and fayre, and is equall for his bignes to anye stone (diamond and rubye exce[p]ted), but is not much harder then pearle, and easely weareth rough. Ther is also another transparant stone, which we call geratsolis, which hath no cullors but a kynde of shyning, and if the sune or sune bright daye-light dayelight (*sic*) weare vnder it or within it. Turcas, which is a thicke wached cullor, is also a good stone of price and estimation, and the softest of thicke culored p[r]ecious stones; the number wherof of such stones (*fo.* 14 b) are soe manye as weare longe to receite, which I leaue therefore to speake of, as not soe needfull to the treatise of perfect cullors, for they are all but mixed coullors. Wale.

Howe to make the picture seeme to looke one in the face, which waie soe euer he goe or stand.

Eauery man cannot possibly (though he haue the knowlege) doe euery worke he knowes, by reason of his naturall infermity of complexion or humor, as for drawing vnder christall.

M^m Blanchgreene for flowers of horne.

Questions to be talked on.

¹ Blank space in MS.

Wherof the carnations are to be made, and howe the precious stones and pearle etc.

In drawing after the life, site not nearer then too yards from the partye; and sit as euen of height as possible you maye, but if hee be a very highe person, lett him sitte a littel aboue, because generally men be vnder him, and will soe iudge of the picture, because they vnder-viewe him; if it be a very lowe person or childe, vse the like discretion in placing him somewhat lower then yourselfe. If you drawe frome head to foote, lett the party stand at least sixe yards frome you, when you take the discription of his whole stature, and so likewise for the stelling of your picture, whate lenght soeuer, after you haue proportioned the face, let the party arise, and stand, for in sitting fewe cane sit very vpriight as they stand, wherby the drawer is greatly deceiued commonly, and the party drawne disgraced. Tell not a body when you drawe the hands, but when you spie a good grace in their hand take it quickly, or praye them to stand but still, for commonly when they are towld, they giue the hand the worse and more vnnaturall or affected grace. I would wish anybody to be well resolued with themselues beforehand with what grace they would stand, and seeme as though they neuer had resolued, nor weare to seeke, but take it without counsell.

the 18 of March 1624

Londres ¹

*A² more compendious discourse concerning y^e art of liming,
the nattere and properties of the coullers.*

To proceed & begine with ye coullers, whitt for it's virgin puritie is the most exellent, viz^t. ceruse & whitt lead, both subiect to inconueniencies, and are thus preuented. The cerusse (after you haue wrought itt) will tarnish, and many tims looke of a redish

¹ This inscription is at the foot of the page; it appears to be in the same hand as the foregoing text.

² Fo. 15 begins here. What follows (ff. 15-16) is in a different hand, and was probably written towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

Whits

or yeallowishe couller, the whitt lead iff to much ground will glister or shine, & iff you grind itt to course will bee vnfitt to worke & so vnseruicable. Ther is but on way to remedy itt, which is to lay them in ye sunn to or three days before you grind y^{em}, which will exhalle and draw away those salt and gressie mixtures y^t starue and poyson the coullers; besids you must scrape away the superficies of the whitt lead, and only euse the purest of itt. Put to this, as to all your coullers, a littell gume arabeck of the best and whittest, which you must haue by you in a littel box, made into very fine powder or elce disolued into watter, as you please, and with a few drops of fair runing watter temper itt with your finger till the gume be incorporated or disolued. The gume must bee vs'd att discretion; your owne practice will informe you y^e best, for no generall rulle can be giuen, only leaue not your coullers to moist & reliqued but somewhat thicke & clamy, & then couer itt cleane frome the dust till it bee dry in the shell, and then, if itt bee not to much nor to littell bound, you will find itt, iff to much itt will glissen, iff to littell, drawing your finger ouer itt some of the couller will come of.

The grind-
ing of your
coullers

India lake to be ground with gume watter, and spread thine about the shell, vंबर and some other coullers much subject to crakle & fall frome the shell in pieces; when you find itt so, take a littell whitt sugar candy reduced into fine powder, and with a few drops of fair watter you must temper the couller againe as itt is in the shell till both the coullers & the suggar candy be throughly dissollued, which being once dry will lye fast in the shell. English oker will lye fast in the shell, & workes well iff well ground. Pink is also a very good couller and workes sharpe and neatt, and must be ground as y^e rest. Umber, being a fowle and gressie couller, iff when you haue bought itt you burne itt in a crusible or goldsmiths pott, itt is clensed & being ground as the rest workes well. Tera de Collana is easie to worke when itt is new grownd, and is very good to close vp the last & deepest touches in the shadowed places of picturs by y^e liffe. Cheristone and iuory are both to bee burned & so ground; the first is a very good blak, especially for drapperies and blake aparell, but if you mak sattin itt must be tempered with a littell India lake

To make
sattin

& indico, but only to make itt apeere with a more beautifull glose, which, heightned with a littell lighter mixtur of more whittish in strong touches & hard reflections, and deep'ned with iuory, will shew maruellous well. Iuory blake must be well tempered with suggar candy to preuent craking.

But befor I begine I will shew you the reson why the coullers must be washed, which is because they are of a sandy, loose & & (*sic*) grauely quallitie, & so heauy & ponderous & sollid bodies y^u thay will hardly be reduced to that finenesse requierable in this art; for iff you thinke to make them fine by grinding thay will instantly loose ther beawtie. To refine y^{em} therefore by washing, you are to take of red lead, which is the first in number, about an ounce or tou, iff you please, and puting itt in a littell basson or such like of clear watter stire itt for a while togeather either with your hand or some spoone, till you see the watter all coulled & stained with the couller, then lett itt stand a while, and you will perceae on the vper face of y^e watter a gressy skome arise, which togeather with all the watter powr out and cast away. Then fill you[r] basson with fresh watter and stirr itt as before, which done, before the watter be halfe settled powre itt into another clean porrenger or such lik, reseruing behind in the first bason the dreggs & settling of the coullers, which may be the greatestt parte, (*fo. 15b*) yet itt is to be cast away, for much is not that you are to seeke but good, for a littell in any couller goes far in limning. And if a handfull of red lead yeald a shell or tou of good couller, itt is enough, so itt be fine.

To wash
coullers

How to
wash
coullers

The coulled & trubled watter, as I sayed before, being in a second dish, ade more watter therto, and wash them well togeather as before, which done lett itt settle till the watter be allmost cleare. If you perceae the skome arise still vpon the watter, powre it of still, till the watter be cleare, for y^e skome is chalke or other filth in the couller, which you are to cast of by stirring itt (I mean, all the couler togeather), then sufering itt to settle, and as longe as the skome ariseth still powr itt away. Itt will not be amisse iff, when you haue was[h]t your couller a while & stirring the watter till againe itt become thike, you powre out halfe of that thickned watter into a third

dish, and washin[g] both y^e second & the third you will find you[r] couler of a courser and finer quallitie, insomuch as the third, & iff you please y^e 4th and 5th, will be very fine and faire. When you haue well washed them often, & by continuall changing and shifting the watters & coullers you find itt perfectly clensed, you must by littell and littell gently draw away y^e remaine of y^e watter, not sufering any, or very littell, of the couller to goe away with itt, so that setting your dishes in the sunn & sheluing them one the one side, you will find your couller dried and lying about the sids of the dishes, like drifts of sand; in some places you will find itt faire & cleare and fine, and in other more course and fowle. When itt is all through dried, take away with your finger or feather the finest parte of the couller, which will like fine flower fall away with the least touch. Reserue itt for your vse; y^e courser sort you may keepe for ordinary worke. But when you vse this couller you must take as much as will lye in a shell (I meane only to spread about the side of a shell somwhatt thinne, that you may handsomly take itt of with your pencill, which you cannot conueniently doe if you fill your shell full or lett itt lie thike or on heaps), and with gume watter or gume in powlder (as I sayed before) with a few drops of watter temper itt finely with your finger and lett itt spread about the sids of y^e shells, as you did in your other ground collers. For your pencills: [they] must be well chosen, cleane and sharpe pointed, not deuiding into parts, full & thike towards the quill & so decending to a round and sharp point. I preferre these before y^{em} that are longe & slender, as retaining the couller longer & deliuering itt out more free and flowing then the other; iff any haire is longer then the rest take it off with a sharp pen-kniff, or passe itt through the flame of a candle. The pencills you vse in gold or silluer you are to reserue for thatt purpose, and not to mix or temper with other coullors.

For your
pencills

For your
table or
carde

Itt may be ouall, or square, as you will, or the partie drawne desirs itt. Take an ordinary playing card, pollish itt and make itt so smoth as possible you can, y whitt side of itt, make itt eurywheare euen, and clean frome spots, then chuse the best abortiue parchment, & cutting out a peece equall to your card, with fine and cleane starch past itt on

the card; which done, lett itt dry, then making your grindstone as cleane as may bee, lay the card on the stone, the parchment sid downward, and then pollish itt well on the backe sid, itt will make much the smother. You must past your parchment so that the outside of the skinn may be outward, itt being the smothest and best side to worke on.

(*fo. 16*) You are to lay your ground or primer of a flesh couller so near as you can, of the same complexcion the partie is, rather somwhatt fairer, for by shadowing you can make itt browner att pleasure, for in limning you must neuer heighten, but worke itt downe to y^e just coller. Haying prepared your coller, you remeber to fill your pencill full of coller, rather thinn & watterish then thicke & grose, and with to or three sweeps or dashes, with a bigger then ordinarie pencill, lay itt on in an instant; for the sooner you doe itt, the better and euener will your coller lye, and forgett not to couer so much or more of your card then you meane to make the face, because that if you should happen to lay the ground to littell you will very hardly add any more on to itt but very vneuen and not sutable to the rest. Therefore all must be done att once and speedily, for iff you be longe in laying this complexcion the card or rather parchment will roughell or risse and come frome the card.

This done, you are to take a pretty large shell of mother of pearlle or such like, and before you begin to worke you must temper certaine little heaps of seuerall shadows for the face, which, as the oyle painters lay on their woden pallats, in like maner you must lay them ready prepared in order by themselues about the border or circomferance of the shells.

The first coullers you are to begine the face with are red, that is to say, of the cheeks and lipps somewhat strongly, in the bottome of the chinne if the partie be beardlesse, as allso ouer, vnder and about the eyes. You will perceaua a dellicate and faint rednes about the eies, somewhat inclining to a purple, which in faire and beautiful faces is ordinary and must be obserued dilligently. All this you must worke after the maner of washing or hatching, drawing your pencill along and with faint & gentle stroaks, or rather washing or wipping them with pricks to prick and punch itt, as some doe affech. In your dead coulloring you need not

be exactt and curious, but rather bold and juditious; for though your worke appears rough at first, yett in the finishing your worke will be in your owne power and pleasure to sweeten & close itt as neat & curiously as you will. Your next worke is the faint & blew shadows about the eys, the corners and balls of them, and grayish & blewish shadows about y^e temples, which you are to worke frome the vper parte of the face, exceeding sweett & faint by degrees. The fainter and lighter shadows being done & somewhatt smothed & wrought into the red, you may goe ouer your hair; you must first draw them with collar as neere as you can suttably to the life, and afterward wash then (*sic*) roughly as the rest.

For your
haire

Your armour layd liquid silluer, flatt & euen, which dryed and burnisht with a small wessells tooth handsomly fitted into a pensill stick, then temper the shadow for your armour with silluer, littmas and a little vmber, and worke your shadows vpon & ouer the silluer acording to the obseru[a]tions in the liffe; the burnisht siluer to be left for the heightnings, the deepnings must be y^e deepest of your shadows, the thinner parte wherof with some store of silluer must be sweetly & neatly wrought into y^e silluer layd all flatt before.

To make
armor

As for gold, you may lay your ground flatt with English oaker tempered with liqued gold; yett there is a stone growing in the oxes gall which they call a gall-stone, which is [*for* if] ground & tempered with gold is of exelent luster and beawtie, in the shadowing of which in the deepest & darkest places must be mixed a littell blacke. The hightning must be the finest and purest gold (I meane liqued). Iff in your gold worke thar be any caruing or imbosiing, and that in y^e lighter parts, itt must be sparkling & pleasant.

For gold

A FEW WORDS ON THE EARLY ART OF MINIATURE
PAINTING AS PRACTISED BY HILLIARD
AND OTHERS

BY PHILIP NORMAN, LL.D.

WE have claimed for Nicholas Hilliard that he was the first great English exponent of miniature painting, in which our artists were destined for several generations to be pre-eminent, while the painting of life-sized portraits was almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. It must not, however, be forgotten that long before his time the English were highly skilled in the illumination of manuscripts on vellum, an art akin to that of the miniaturist, and that these now and then contained portraits, for instance that on the frontispiece of the Salisbury Lectionarium, of Lord Lovell of Tichmarsh receiving the book from its maker, John Siverwas, which dates from about the end of the fourteenth century; and again the fifteenth-century portrait of Geoffrey Chaucer by Occeleve in a manuscript 'De Regimine Principis' (Harl. MSS. 4866). When printing became general, this art of necessity languished, but from it was evolved the production of separate portraits on a small scale, in place of such work as part of the decoration of a manuscript.

Miniature portrait painting having already been practised to some slight extent, not only in England but at various places on the Continent, and evidently supplying a want, it was not to be wondered at that Hans Holbein, equipped by genius and training for work of this kind, should take up the new fashion and become its greatest exponent. We have seen that Hilliard expressed high admiration for that master, and claimed that he had always imitated Holbein's manner, which he held to be the best. We should, therefore, have expected his miniatures to resemble more closely the work of Holbein, but as a rule they have much less effect of light and shade. In this respect, and perhaps in others—for instance in the frequent use of gold—they are sometimes more directly akin to the old illuminations, from which undoubtedly their technique was in part derived. It should be added perhaps that John Shute, mentioned by Haydocke, and author of 'The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture', apparently practised the art of miniature painting before Hilliard. Bettes, whom Haydocke names in the same sentence, was Hilliard's pupil.

Hilliard's account of his conversation with Queen Elizabeth, which is given in the 'treatise', supplies ample reason why, in her portraits at least,

he avoided much shadow; but the appearance of flatness in many other faces painted by him is on close examination found to be caused largely by the fading of the carnations, which have yielded too often to the assaults of time or ill usage. Although in his own day Hilliard's reputation as a limner was pre-eminent, this frequent absence of strong effect in his modelling has inclined some people, beginning with Horace Walpole, to rank him as a miniaturist below his famous pupil Isaac Oliver. To our minds, however, there is no need for treating them as rivals, since each has expressed his own feeling quite admirably. We prefer to class the two together in the words of Peacham, who in his account of limning, as incorporated in *The Compleat Gentleman*, wrote as follows: 'Nor must I be ungratefully unmindful of mine own countrymen, who have been and are equal to the best if occasion served, as old Hilliard, Mr. Isaac Oliver, inferior to none in Christendome for the countenance in small.'

Hilliard painted strenuously from boyhood to old age, and most of his sitters were among the great people of the land. Portraits by him are, therefore, still numerous. We can only give a few typical examples. In three cases, to show their genuine condition we have ventured to make the reproductions considerably larger than the originals. On such a scale we see clearly that Hilliard's work has not been tampered with; it is also easier to appreciate the masterly character of the craftsmanship. In this respect, at least, he resembles Holbein.

There seems to be considerable misapprehension as to the nature of the material on which Holbein painted. It is proved by his own treatise that his habit was to use the finest and smoothest vellum, most carefully pasted on to a card, and we find that for this purpose he often chose a playing-card. Dallaway, in his edition of Walpole's *Anecdotes* (note to vol. 1, p. 288), remarks that the tablets on which Hilliard painted were 'seldom of ivory'. He evidently had not devoted attention to this particular subject. In fact, one of the earliest miniatures on ivory, if not the earliest known, is that representing the first Duke of Schomberg, who was killed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. This example, which belonged to the late Dr. Lumsden Propert, was shown at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1889. The writer of the introduction to the catalogue then issued tells us that it is 'on a thick ivory plate quite rough at the back'. We can judge therefore that it bears but slight resemblance to the thin slips of ivory which have so long been in use and, lending themselves as they do to transparent painting, helped to develop the exquisite, if in a sense decadent, art of Cosway.



PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, dated 1572.

By Nicholas Hilliard.

Enlarged to twice the size of the original

(National Portrait Gallery)

NOTES ON THE PLATES

PLATE I.—PORTRAIT OF NICHOLAS HILLIARD IN THE SALTING BEQUEST,
VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

This is one of at least four portraits of the artist painted by himself. The inscription on the background in gold lettering is *Año Dñ 1577 Ætatis suæ 30* — the puzzling figures that imply his having been born in 1547. It belongs to a pair said in the essay appended to the translation of De Piles' *Art of Painting*, 1706, to have been then the property of Simon Fanshaw, Esq. Horace Walpole tells us that Vertue 'saw them afterwards in the possession of the last Sidney Earl of Leicester, and that they had been taken out of the old frames and set in a snuff box'. In Walpole's time it appears that a Mr. Simon Fanshaw was owner of 'two such heads', by some thought to be the very portraits, a belief in which he at first shared, although one had no inscription and the other only the date of the year and the age, but in the 3rd edition of his *Anecdotes*, published by Dodsley in 1782 and so described on the title-page, he adds that 'Lord Leicester gave the snuff-box in question to Marshal Sir Robert Rich, in whose possession it remains with the pictures'. The original frame cannot now be found; it must have had round it the rest of the inscription quoted by Walpole from De Piles as having belonged to this miniature.

In Dallaway's edition of the *Anecdotes* (1826-8) there is an engraving of Nicholas Hilliard, which, as is proved by a reference below it, he believed to have been taken from the Fanshaw miniature. It is in fact extremely like, but not identical. Besides slight variations in the detail it has one important omission, namely that of the date and age on the background. There is a Latin inscription round the frame. This engraving is in fact from a miniature now belonging to Mr. Currie of Minley Manor. It has no inscription on the background, but round the original setting are precisely the same words spelt in the same way as those that appear round Dallaway's illustration. We have given them on a previous page; they are the same in sense though not in spelling as the words which were on the original frame of the Salting portrait, and which are given in Walpole's text. The Dallaway engraving is stated to be after an original at Penshurst, and we know that Mr. Currie's miniature came from there. It was in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of 1889 when still belonging to its old home.

PLATE II.—PORTRAIT OF RICHARD HILLIARD, FATHER OF THE ARTIST, IN THE SALTING BEQUEST.

This portrait, companion to the Salting miniature of the son, has on the background, *Ætatis suæ 58 Anno Dni. 1577.* Walpole gives also the words, *Ricardus Hilliardus quondam vicecomes civitatis et comitatus Exoniæ anno 1560.* The latter inscription is said to be on the original silver-gilt frame, still in existence and now the property of Lord De L'Isle. The pair of miniatures, bereft of their old setting, passed from the Rich family into the hands of Mrs. Claverton, whose niece, Mrs. Thomas Liddell, was their next possessor, and in turn gave them to *her* niece, Mrs. Sartoris, by whom they were sold at Christie's, their purchaser being Mr. Salting. We can therefore trace an unbroken succession of owners from the year 1706. A duplicate portrait of Richard Hilliard, which had belonged to Walpole, was sold for £4 14s. 6d. at the sale of the Strawberry Hill collection, and is now at Montagu House. It is of oval form instead of being round. The lettering and figures on the background are differently arranged.

PLATE III.—FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN LEANING AGAINST A TREE, IN THE SALTING BEQUEST.

Beyond the fact that, although the flesh colour is sadly faded, this is a fine example of one phase of Hilliard's art, nothing of importance is known about it. The young man leans in a somewhat lackadaisical attitude against a tree, and above his head in small gold letters are the words 'Dat pænas laudata fides'.

PLATE IV.—PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

On the left shoulder is a white rose. The deep blue background appears to be composed of ultramarine, as are the backgrounds of the Salting miniatures of Nicholas and Richard Hilliard. On it are the letters E R, and round the head *Anno Dni 1572 Ætatis suæ 38.* It is on the back of a playing-card cut into oval form—the Queen of Hearts. This is one of Hilliard's best portraits of Queen Elizabeth, and was bought by the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery from Mrs. Mallett in 1860. The previous owner was Dr. Hue.

P. N.

A SKETCH OF ENGLISH MEDIAEVAL FIGURE-SCULPTURE

BY PROFESSOR EDWARD S. PRIOR

(The illustrations are from photographs specially taken by Mr. Arthur Gardner.)

It is not difficult to find reasons why scant justice has been done to the mediaeval sculptures of England. For one thing the architectural interest of our great churches has overshadowed the sculpture-performance, and secondly, where, as at Wells, the latter is seen to be considerable, common report finds it only a second-hand offshoot of the continental style. It is true that, with the exception of the Wells front, the façades of our churches cannot offer anything approaching comparison with the porched galleries of mediaeval sculpture that are seen abroad. Also, whereas the interiors of many continental churches are stocked with ancient statues, the English as a rule have at most the sepulchral figures only. There has been with us a clean sweep of the ancient religious imagery, and an equal destruction of the smaller religious carvings, wherever they could be seen and got at for defacement. Accordingly the English figure-work is now either much weather-worn from its exposed position externally, or is seen broken or hidden away in dark corners. But the comparative rarity of the English pieces and their bad condition must not be pressed to the conclusion that figure-sculpture was in less repute for English churches, or in less demand, than in France or Germany. In their total the survivals of our mediaeval figure-work are far from inconsiderable—Mr. Gardner and myself reckon that in our ten years' quest for examples we have had under our eyes over ten thousand pieces¹: and if anybody will go into the evidence, he will be assured that the examples are but the remnants of a perished host—that ten, perhaps a hundred, times as much as we see has disappeared. If for no other reason than this the attribution of English pieces to foreign hands must seem unlikely—for such a body of sculpture could scarcely have been executed in the course of uncertain visits by imported artists. There are with us, no doubt, sporadic examples of imported sculpture, and occasionally of sculptors, just as we find English work, and also the English artist, abroad. But in order to produce so continuous an output of religious carving of all kinds, such as we have from the seventh to the sixteenth century, there must in England have lived generations of accomplished artists, whose schools of figure-work were in progress some centuries before Henry VIII introduced 'Peter Torrisany, of the city of Florence, graver'.

¹ *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Prior and Gardner (Cambridge University Press).

It will not be long, we think, before students of sculpture will readily recognize that a distinctive quality exists in the English work, and that this has a history independent of the French and German schools as well as alongside of them. In the first place it can be seen that there were activities of sculpture-style in England which were little or not at all practised abroad—for example, the figure-work of the Anglian and Norse Crosses. Again, the memorial figures on the tombs of English churches have a quality different from that of any continental examples—and this apart from the fact that our knight-*effigies* have a range of sculpture-motives unmatched abroad. The alabaster *retables*, too, must be acknowledged as a special product of English carving, for we find that they were imported to all parts of West Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so that, though with us they remain only as damaged fragments, entire specimens are not uncommon in the churches and museums of France and Italy. Another product of English art was the figure-carving of the bosses that were developed so prodigally in the fifteenth-century vaultings peculiar to England. The same may be said of the angel carvings of our roofs, and of that minute wood sculpture which English *misericords* and bench ends show. The history of European sculpture is incomplete when it omits acknowledgement of these English specialities.

Moreover, when the English sculptors worked under the same régime as the continental schools, exhibiting the same motives and the same expressions, the English quality has to be recognized in the style of the work—with a difference, and in some cases with a distinction by the side of French and German. But here we have to admit a very serious disability that embarrasses any effort to bring English sculpture to the appreciation of taste. A false idea has been presented of it, because a sham *mediaevalism* has claimed to reproduce it in our churches. Restoration carving, and especially its figure-work, has developed an abject cult of imbecile sentiment and puerile execution. Caricatured bishops and mawkish saints are thought religious sculpture, fit for the niches of the ancient art: heads and missing parts are irreverently added to the ancient *torsoes*, and when the original statues exist, as at Exeter, the natural setting of the ancient masters is made ridiculous by vulgar additions. And these wrongs done to religious art have not been those of Victorian vandalism only, blunted to our consciences by the lapse of a generation or so: unfortunately they are of yesterday and to-day. Such a misunderstanding of *mediaeval* sculpture as allows all these 'restoration' atrocities cannot but be difficult to remove. If the falsity of a religious sham and the execution of mechanical indifference equip sculpture to be a reproduction of *mediaeval* style, then that style has no call for attention by serious artists—it was a base, senseless incapacity. But our claim is that instead of being a farcical *make-believe*, the religion of the *mediaeval* artist was a reality—that his handling



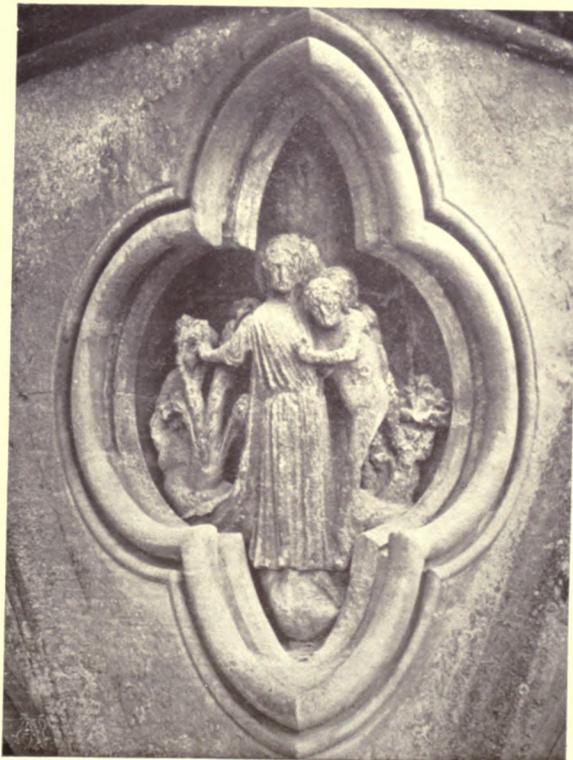
Wells Cathedral.

Sculptures of
West Front.

c. 1230.

The figures are
about 2 ft. high.

a. The Creation of Adam.



b. The Garden of Eden.



Wells Cathedral.

Sculptures of
West Front.

c. 1230.

a. Adam & Eve.

The figures are
about 2ft. high.



b. Christ and the Doctor.

was a practical ability, not a mechanical slavery. Neither motive nor technique had anything in common with the commercial art, whose wares now profess to furnish churches.

Particularly the style of the English figure-sculpture may claim the repute of honest belief and practical skill. The sculptural sincerity of the English work rings true, whether they were saints or knights that it had the mind to model, whether they were minstrel angels or belching devils that were its themes. For the two centuries of Gothic style the sculptor worked in the body of the building, and not till the end did the practical sense of the building-content desert his creations or fail to endow them with the strength of monumental fitness. The specially English quality lay in this architectural restraint and in the simplicity and serenity of the religious expression gained thereby. The note was struck early in our work, as can be seen in the Bible reliefs at Wells, which must be dated before 1230 (Plates V and VI). Our sculptures seldom have the learning or the intellectual force of the best Gothic creations in France, but show a tenderness of expression sometimes absent from the French. English work never developed that picturesque ecstacy that the connoisseur looks for in German religious work, nor had it those dexterous characterizations which the Flemish art cultivated. On the other hand, it was without the grimace that often offends us in the work of both the German and Flemish schools.

Still, it is not the aim of this paper to enter into the interesting points connected with the national traits of mediaeval style, nor to trace the cross-currents of influence, which can be detected merging the English sculpture with that of the Continent. The first point must be to free mediaeval genius from the contemptuous estimation which places it along with the base work of modern ecclesiastical taste. To do this consideration must be given to what the religious art of the mediaeval church had in its mind. It will be understood that its sculpture was religious, because religion and life were one in a sense that has no parallel in modern life. From A. D. 600 to 1500 the consciousness of liturgic truth was in the open, and faith was spectacular. In our days faith lies beneath the surface—is unpractised in outward demeanour, but has its sphere in thought, in books, in newspapers, in reviews. But in the Middle Ages the arts of building spread an open page where could be read all the phases of social life. The world was a stage actually in which real parts were played, each man dressed to his part—each trade, each office, each degree with its peculiar and separate costume, its special and peculiar action and gag, such as an actor has in a play. Not to play your part and know its gag meant excommunication and outlawry. In this sense mediaeval religion had its open theatre in the architecture of its churches, and the *dramatis personae* were sculpture.

We may broadly distinguish three acts: (1) the symbolical, (2) the intellectual, and (3) the anecdotal. At the outset, while mediaeval faith was

subjective and mystical, then we have symbolism in sculpture; next, when religious truth became *objective* and dogmatic, as expressed in the scholastic theology, sculpture was modelled by intellectual ideas; thirdly, when faith grew sentimental and moral, sculpture became romantic, sensational, and anecdotal. But though the scenery changed, the action of the play made one continuous piece—the motives of twelfth-century symbolism grew on into thirteenth-century intellectualism by slow degrees; in the fourteenth and fifteenth the demand for romantic story and moral anecdote almost imperceptibly replaced that for dogmatic exposition.

A. D. 650-1066.

Symbolism in sculpture was the proposal to exhibit the reality by the representation of things not real. The faith of the Christian Church was the real existence, and it had to be conveyed to the sight; therefore, for this conveyance mediaeval art used mystic signs, strange monsters, and patent unrealities. In the earliest work interlacing knots and leafy scrolls appear, but they were not decorative fancies as now such things are. In the sculpture of the ninth century and on to the twelfth the twisting stem meant the endless chain of eternity, or the branching tree of Paradise. The birds and beasts on early sculpture were not to represent anything living—they were souls in glory. The peacocks and doves that are sculptured are feeding on the fruits of the Gospel; the dragons, twisting and writhing together, are good and evil in conflict. Winged creatures that spear snakes are Christianity subduing Paganism; the Lamb with the Flag is Christ; the Lion is Christ—the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and so on. If scenes of sacred narrative occur, they are wrested from all scenic realization. The Saints are stuck up side by side like ninepins; the crucified Christ is shown as a crowned King, or as a Shepherd with a crook leading the sheep; as piping the souls out of Hades, or in Hell trampling on the powers of darkness.

As a generalization we may say that in two ways the East gave to the West the symbols which sculpture used for its mysteries, one by the Mediterranean conduit, in the same course as came the Christian polity, or the Church, the other by the Scandinavian, whereby came the Pagan polity, or Feudalism. One was the product of Greek, or as it is called Byzantine, civilization, the other of the Viking. We shall see both ways reflected in the early sculpture of England.

The standing crosses of North England, as at Bewcastle (Plate VII, a), throw a vivid light on European history of the dark ages. It speaks volumes for the desolation of the Mediterranean centres that such a monument should be



a. Bewcastle Cross. c. 700
Figures about 4ft.



b. Cross at Durham. c. 1000. Figure about 10in.



c. Romsey. c. 1100. Figure 7ft.

Plate VIII.



Chichester: "The Raising of Lazarus", c.1050. Figures about 3ft. high.

unmatched in continental Europe—that its refined sculpture of the figure, its just and accurate decorative sense, its elegant outline, should have its home here on a bare Cumberland fell. Still, we cannot father its art on the Northmen, whose art was only war. From Byzantine style came the correct proportions and meditative grace of the Bewcastle ‘Christ’. The vines and griffins that decorate these Anglian crosses were not conceived as models for sculpture in the misty northern moors. They have come to England as the long tradition of Greek elegance, because this earliest sculpture was a missionary craft reflecting the Christianizing of North England by Wilfred. It was no more native to Englishmen than the Gothic cathedral at Capetown is to the Bushmen.

But the Greek grace of the missionary builders lasted scarcely a century. At Gosforth in Cumberland a cross some 150 years later is another remarkable monument such as is found nowhere on the continent of Europe. But here, in place of the correct, serene themes of Eastern decoration, we have barbarous animals, a life of wastes and forests, the mythology of Odin and the World-snake. So was reflected a fresh social era; it was a period of Norse invasions, of continual raiding and massacre, and the slow conversion of the Danish hordes, their heathenism at first scarcely tinctured by Christianity. While all the coasts of Europe were devastated, and the Northmen were for a time wiping out culture, in Ireland the Keltic Church stood like a beacon in the wide waste of northern ferocity, and Irish-Viking art, such as is shown in the Durham crosses (Plate VII, b), reveals itself as the just expression of the tenth century in English style.

They were still the darker ages of flickering culture, and constant quenching of the flame. But in another hundred years there had reached England the force that was once and for all re-creating mediæval Europe. The broad basis of all modern life in West Europe was that laid in the expansion of monastic institutions. This widespread dominion of the order of St. Benedict was already civilizing England before the Norman Conquest. The ‘roods’ or great stone crucifixes—not standing crosses, but modelled relief-sculpture on flat stone slabs, like that at Romsey (Plate VII, c)—witness to the arts of the Saxon cloister whose culture was pre-eminent in Europe. How close together were the ideas of this rood-sculpture and those of the manuscript-painting in the Saxon scriptoria can be seen by reference to crucifixion paintings in the tenth- and eleventh-century illuminations. At Chichester are two famous relief-sculptures, representing the Saviour coming to the house of Martha and Mary, and the raising of Lazarus. In the variety of the head-dresses, the bent figures, the gestures of grief, and the sorrowing faces (Plate VIII), the dexterity and the motives of the Saxon manuscript painter have been immediately rendered by the Saxon sculptor.

A. D. 1066-1200.

We next find English sculpture after a momentous change. The Norman Conquest swept England into the broad stream of Western civilization, and accordingly identical types of Romanesque sculpture occur here as in every part of Europe. In our churches, just as in Greece, in Italy, in North-west Spain, or in the many provinces of France, twelfth-century doorways and capitals show in full luxuriance that sculpture of symbolic monsters, that menagerie of symbolism, which made decoration out of griffins, wyverns, and basilisks, as well as all the known or conjectured denizens of the field.

But one must also observe that the first building-sculpture of English churches drew motives from Norse cross-carving. At Southwell the 'Archangel Michael separating the sheep from the goats' is a work probably pre-Conquest: while at Dinton the 'Animals battenning on the Tree of Life' is a clear conveyance of Norse technique forward into the twelfth century (Plate IX, a). However, the symbolic simplicity that was the early motive yielded rapidly to ideas of conscious decoration—the pride of the chisel supplanted the motive of faith. At Barfreston (Plate IX, b) the 'Christ' sits in a mass of foliage, evidently copied from some conceit of a painter which the carver has been ambitious to copy. We are on a boundary, a change of perception is qualifying the ideas of religion—the intellectual demand is asking for something more than the hazy wonder of symbolic show. We hear St. Bernard preaching: 'What profit is there in those ridiculous monsters, in that marvellous and deformed comeliness, that comely deformity! To what purpose are those unclean apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half men, those striped tigers, those fighting knights, those hunters winding their horns? Here is a four-footed beast with a serpent's tail, there a fish with a beast's head. We are more tempted to read in stone than in books, to spend the day wondering at such sights, than in meditating the law of God.'¹

The revolution in religious thought which the founder of the Cistercians was preaching was that which launched the great Gothic sculpture. While we look at the miracle of Gothic building we must remember that the architecture was but the background, the purpose of the stone was exhibited in its sculptural speech. Since in the drama of the church lay the exposition of the faith, architecture achieved the standing free image of stone for its completion. Hitherto mediaeval sculpture had been in relief, the decoration of surface; but with the intellectual reformation came the free detached figure, almost simultaneously in many parts of Europe, and in England as early as elsewhere.

By means of this achievement the stone building of Gothic churches was enabled to present a reasoned authoritative statement of faith. The great

¹ Quoted from *The Mediaeval Garner*, by G. C. Coulton.

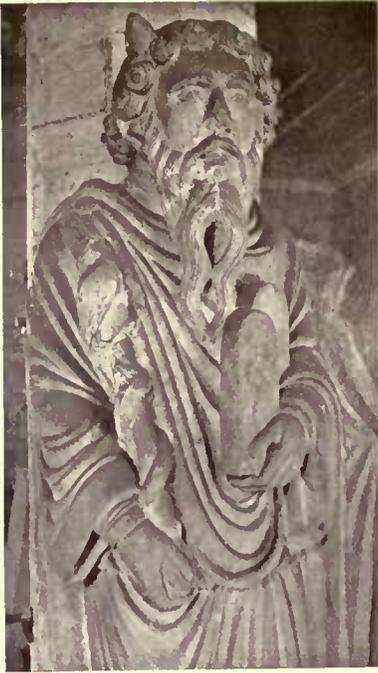


a. Dinton, Buckinghamshire: Tympanum. c. 1125. 4ft. across.



b. Barfreston, Kent: Tympanum. c. 1175. Figure about 2ft. high.

Plate X.



a. York: Statue of Moses. c. 1175.
Figure about 8ft. high.



b. York: Lower part of "Hell Stone". c. 1175.
Figures about 12in. high.



c. Wells Cathedral: Statues by North Porch. c. 1240.

cathedral façades were set up for the purpose of displaying the whole system of the Christian theology—the end to which creation moved. *Eschatology*, the doctrine of the last things, may sum up in one word the supreme motive. Christ's advent as the Saviour was to lead up to Christ's coming as the Judge; to this theme were devoted, in numberless variations but always on a reasoned scheme and with full dogmatic intention, thousands of statues, thousands of figure-reliefs, tens of thousands of sculptured points and juts of architecture. In the west fronts of the twelfth century sets of statues were carved round the great doorways, to set forth the natural and spiritual genealogy of Christ. Above were ranges of reliefs recounting the Bible histories (see Plates V–VI) and statues figuring the army of the saints. Then immediate to the entrances or above them, as the centre or finish of the tableaux, were placed the twelve apostles, the angels and archangels, the Angel of the Doom parting the good from the bad, and 'Christ in Judgement'.

In England we had these statted fronts at the end of the twelfth century on the same scale as at Chartres or Arles. At York, in St. Mary's Museum, are some half-dozen statues (Plate X, a) that would seem to have flanked a doorhead on which was the relief of the 'Madonna and Child' that was found with them: they have no doubt represented the patriarchs and prophets, the spiritual ancestors of the Sacred Child. As part of a Judgement sculpture we have the 'Hell Stone' lately dug up at York, showing the seven deadly sins tormented in Hell (Plate X, b). Such representations have certainly relied on the manuscript painting for their ideas. But in expression they show the ferocity of Norse handling—its constant delight in wriggling devilry, though tempered now by intellectual analysis of the causes of lost souls.

A. D. 1200–1280.

In the thirteenth century a more humane ideal of the Last Judgement appeared with a technique that grew milder and more gracious in sculpture. England possesses a most perfect monument of the scheme in the façade of Wells, on which nearly 150 ancient statues still stand. The top of this composition (with the later additions of the archangels and apostles) gives the Judgement tableau, exhibited in sets of statues across the façade. Above in the centre is the Judge: then are ranged the twelve apostles, the nine orders of angels, the dead rising from their tombs. The statues of the saints (Plate X, c) in the lower tiers are the most characteristic pieces of our English mediaeval figure-work. Their wonderful capacity lies in their perfect architectural expression—their congruity with the facts of their position. Every detail of their handling can be seen to be in the rhythm of the front—as it were, cadenced to the architecture. As statues there is a serene and quiet dignity in their poses and draperies that has seldom been equalled. And also there

is in many of the latest the peculiar English tenderness of sculptured feeling, an asset that our most national art seldom misses. In the lower part of the front were the sculptured reliefs of the Bible story—scenes from the Old and New Testament of peculiar beauty (see Plates V and VI).

It will be seen how in such compositions the intellectual expression of theology has replaced the symbolic. The cardinal beliefs of the Church were the necessary representations in all buildings, and provided the themes which the sculptor developed in statues. In the many dramatic situations of such scenes as the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the Gothic statuary found his opportunity. The 'Annunciation' of the Westminster Chapter-house (Plate XI, a) is on the inside on either side of the entrance doorway, the Virgin to the right, and the angel Gabriel on the left. These figures were found by Sir Gilbert Scott hid behind bookcases—the room having long been used as a library. The Record Office has the account rendered to King Henry III for the payment of these statues, but no sculptor is named.

In the intellectual expression of thirteenth-century sculpture, dogma as well as the cardinal incidents of the faith was given representation. At Lincoln on either side of the Judgement door were—as in many thirteenth-century doorways—stately figures now headless. That to the right of the doorway holds a modelled building—she is the 'Church of Christ', in attitude of command. On the opposite side another—the right-hand figure in the illustration (Plate XI, b)—holds the Tables of Law, while from her hand falls a broken staff—this latter is the 'Synagogue'. The Old Dispensation and the New, together they attend the triumph of Christ as He is represented sitting in Judgement on the tympanum inside the porch (Plate XI, c). Here was the zenith of English mediaeval style. The draperies of these Lincoln figures are executed with a monumental directness, and there is, too, in the pose of their figures a monumental majesty which was never afterwards attained.

Interesting questions crop up in regard to the technique of some most beautiful pieces of this Mid-Gothic sculpture. At Westminster are the angel reliefs of the transept—too far from the eye to be generally observed from below. Apart from the splendid jollity of their presentment which is characteristic of later thirteenth-century sculpture, there are some remarkable resemblances to the style of ancient statues of 500 B.C. at Athens. The little figures of the Lincoln doorway (Plate XI, c) can be seen to have the same suggestion. The filleted heads, the handling of the hair, the fine lawn draperies, the modelling of the limbs beneath them, suggest a curious resemblance to some early Greek art. Some explain this, which is equally evident in French sculpture of this date, on the ground that the Crusaders when they sacked Constantinople saw Greek statues. Others say that marble figures brought from Rome in the thirteenth century gave the style. The difficulty is, however, that they are not the celebrated



a. Westminster Chapel: The Annunciation. 1253.
Figures about 6ft.



b. Lincoln: Statue of Angel Choir c. 1270.
Figures about 6ft.



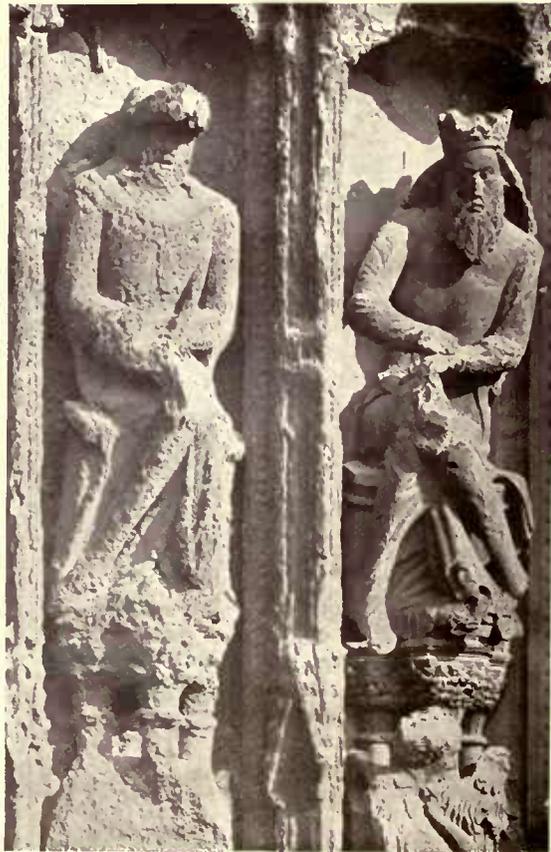
c. Lincoln: "Judgment Porch". c. 1270. Small figures about 15ins.



a. Lincoln: "Angel Choir". Angels of Triforium. c. 1270. Figures about 5 ft.



b. Geddington Cross: Statues of Queen Eleanor. c. 1290. Figures about 8 ft.



c. Exeter: West front. "Warrior & King". c. 1345. Figures about 6 ft.

works of the great masters that seem the model to these mediaeval figures—such might have been supposed to have survived at Constantinople or at Rome—but they are the works antecedent to the Phidian age whose simplicities seem repeated again in the mediaeval sculpture of 1250. The explanation is that as in Greece 500 B.C. so in Paris and London A.D. 1250 sculpture was a growing art, fresh with the youth of adventure and expressing itself monumentally: under the same conditions it achieved the same expressions.

More famous than the Westminster 'Angels' because better seen, are those of the Angel Choir of Lincoln. If a sort of Pagan irresponsibility enlivens the former, the utmost intensity of religious mysticism seems carved into the Lincoln reliefs, especially in two or three of the great angels of the western bays. The angels of the 'Expulsion' and of the 'Resurrection' are too well known for illustration here—the spiritual instinct of their sculptor is a very remarkable one. But there have been apparently four or five others at work on the angel, all competent for noble expression of dogmatic theology (Plate XII, a).

A. D. 1280-1350.

We pass, however, from the intellectual expression of religious sculpture as we open on the fourteenth century. Romance has always been associated with the era commemorated by Froissart and the fourteenth-century chroniclers, when, as in the 'Morte d'Arthur' legend, chivalry and its sentiment were popularized for the recreation of knights and ladies. MSS. like Queen Mary's Psalter or the Luttrell Psalter, with their wonderful vivid painting, may bring to our eyes the colour and pageantry of fourteenth-century style. One form of the romantic motive readily appeals to modern taste. The love of Edward I for his Queen Eleanor of Castile—that 'Queen of good memory, pious, chaste, and compassionate, the lover of the English'—was shown in the Eleanor crosses set up at each place that her body rested from Lincoln, where she died, to Westminster, where she was buried. Of the three remaining that at Geddington (Plate XII, b) has the original form; at Northampton and at Waltham this has been much altered; but the statues of the queen on all three crosses are striking examples of the English style *c.* 1300.

But Romance is an expression of handling and treatment as well as of motive. This is conspicuous in the architecture of Exeter, where in the sculpture of the west screen statues of kings and warriors are carved as the ancestors of Christ. Here the romance of chivalry has motivated religious sculpture, and Bible characters appear as kings and knights. Now in the pageant of life, the aristocrats of the fourteenth century supplied the liveliest and most brilliant scenes. From birth to death the knight and dame lived as a splendid show, and

their aristocratic glory was not to end with their lives. Fourteenth-century sculpture continued it into the tomb, as if the memorial chapel represented a permanent palace that gave the image of the deceased its court.

In England the mediaeval figures of the dead—memorial recumbent effigies—have remained in better preservation than in any other country of Europe. There are many special points of interest to the student of history and manners as well as of art in this effigy-sculpture, for its reflection of the life and sentiment of the Middle Ages was immediate. The coffin-lids of Purbeck marble, quarried at Corfe in Dorset, were carved with modelled figures and sent all over England, the trade starting in the twelfth century and being continued all through the thirteenth. The ‘abbots’ of Peterborough, the ‘bishops’ and ‘knights’ in the Temple Church—like the ‘knight’ which is illustrated (Plate XIII, a) from Sandwich—were sturdy, vigorous sculptures wrought in the hard, dark marble with an expression of power almost Egyptian. Then these works of the marblers were copied in the freestones with a freer hand; earliest, I think, by the sculptors of the Wells statues. At Salisbury, for example, the Longespée stone ‘knight’ has a delicate representation of the recumbent attitude, which is an advance on the coffin-lid representation of earlier effigy-sculpture. The later marble ecclesiastics, after 1250, such as Archbishop de Gray of York, illustrate the dignity of this art at which the marbler worked (Plate XIII, b). ‘Bishop Bronescombe’ of Exeter, wrought in white stone, has an equally dignified style, and can be seen still in its original painting.

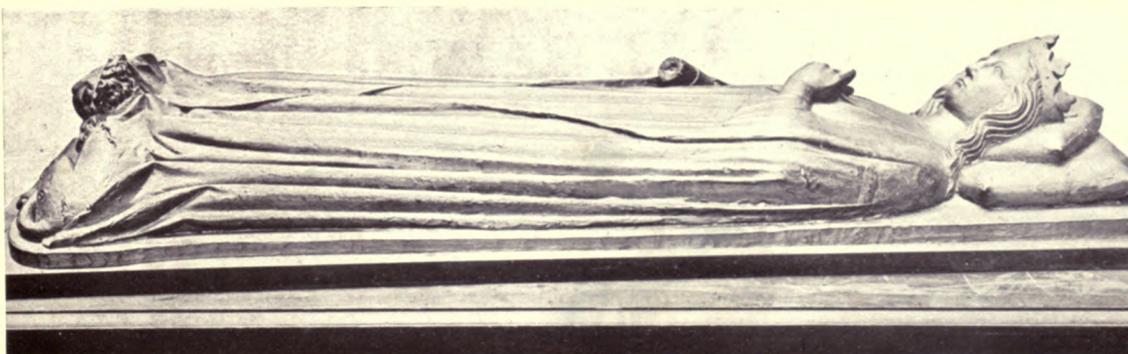
Space does not allow more than the mention of a few most distinguished figures which may represent the course of effigy-art which for a hundred years exhibited a surprising wealth of invention. At the end of the thirteenth century we enter on its expression of chivalry. The ‘Queen Eleanor’ at Westminster (Plate XIII, c) was an ideal bronze executed by Master Torel, a goldsmith of London. Another form of the romantic effigy can be seen in the ‘Knight’ at Gloucester—a wooden figure faced and painted all over, as were the stone figures also. The knights of this type were given a lively cross-legged attitude—not because they were Crusaders, but because such an attitude was an artistic expression of knighthood, as if the subject were ready to fight for the faith. The cross-legged presentation was a sculptor’s device peculiar to the English school: but with this attitude a more composed representation of the warrior appears at Westminster (Plate XIII, d)—with angels at his head, and his hands folded in prayer. At Aldworth he is shown leaning on his shield in the attitude of the ‘dying Gaul’. At Reepham and Ingham in Norfolk we see him laid on a rocky couch—a true soldier on the field of battle, waiting for the trump that shall call him to the Battle of Armageddon.



a. Sandwich, Kent: Purbeck marble. "Knight". c. 1240. About 7 feet.



b. York: "Archbishop de Grey". Purbeck marble tomb. c. 1265. About 8 feet.



c. Westminster: Cast of bronze effigy of Queen Eleanor. 1292.



d. Westminster: Caen stone effigy of Crook Back, Earl of Lancaster. c. 1295.



a. Alabaster "Knight & Lady" of the fifteenth century. Figures about 7 ft.



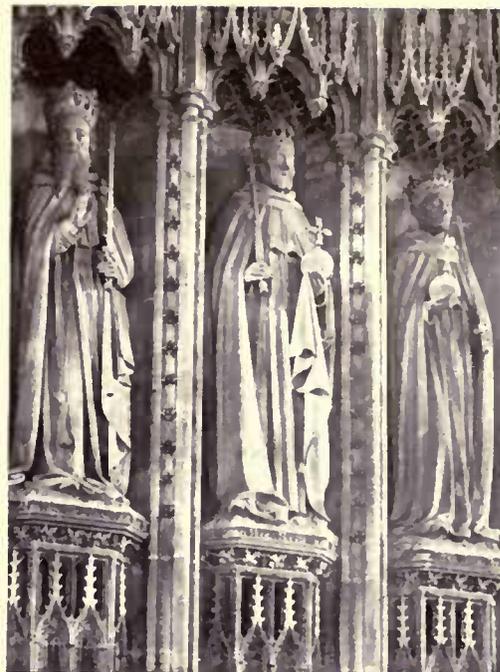
b. Canterbury. Alabaster monument of Henry IV. and Queen Joan. 1404. Figures about 7 ft.



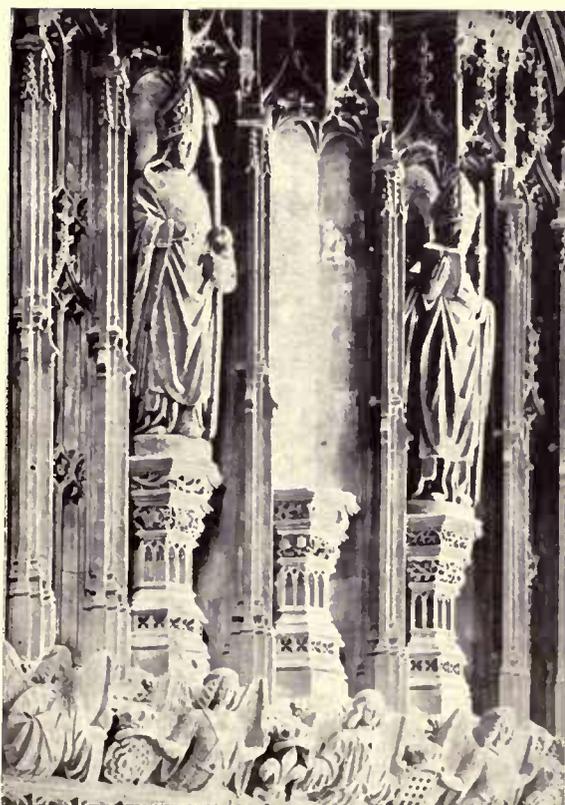
c. Warwick: Bronze figure of Richard Beauchamp. c. 1450. Figure about 6 ft.



a. Beverley Minster: Percy Tomb.
York shop-style. c. 1340. Figures about 2ft. 6in.



b. Canterbury: Choir Screen. London shop-style.
c. 1400. Figures 6ft.



c. Westminster: Henry VIIIth. Chapel.
London shop-style. c. 1500. Figures 5ft.



d. Westminster:
Henry VIIIth. Tomb. Bronze.
Figure 2ft.



a. Ewelme. Oxon: Alabaster tomb of Duchess of Suffolk. c. 1470.



b. Stoneyhurst Museum: Alabaster relief. "Adoration of the Magi". c. 1400. 18 in. high.



a. March, Cambridgeshire: Oak roof with Apostles and Angels. c. 1450.



b. Cambridge: King's College Chapel. Heraldic Sculpture. c. 1480

Plate XVIII.



a. Lavenham: Misericord, "Pelican with her young", c. 1450. 18ins. wide.



b. Oxford: "The viva voce examination of an Undergraduate", c. 1450. 18ins. wide.



c. Bench end. St. George & Dragon. c. 1470. 12ins. wide.

A. D. 1350–1500.

In the middle of the fourteenth century came the Black Death—in which perished half of the population of England—and in its agony there seems to have passed away the romantic characterizations of art that enlivened the first part of the fourteenth century. The effigies of the dead in the fifteenth century were elaborately represented, and the material of their tomb-sculpture became more sumptuous and precious. In the era of the alabaster monument, literal representation of costume was carried to the highest pitch. Yet with this elaboration and costly material there was a staid conventional art. The sculptor gives us, not warriors, but (Plate XIV, a) respectable devotional personages—lords and kings, knights and ladies, as composedly prayerful as the bishop or priest. But these ‘bishops’, ‘knights’, and ‘ladies’ had, I think, no intention of individual portraiture; they were the stock figures of conventional taste, though exceptions can be seen in certain of the royal effigies—for example, on Henry IV’s alabaster tomb at Canterbury (Plate XIV, b) his figure, made immediately after his death, 1404, was no doubt modelled as a likeness of the popular sovereign. It is a note on heredity that his features might be recognized as a royal likeness to-day. But in the fine martial bronze of the Black Prince at Canterbury, thirty years earlier, no resemblance of feature can be suspected. His will directs him to be commemorated by ‘a man fully armed’—and so he has been. His figure, in face, attitude, and armour, is just as a score of others in alabaster and stone. And the same with the bronze of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, of *c.* 1450 (Plate XIV, c). The peculiar and personal visage would be evidence that this head was a portrait, did we not see the same in other memorials, and had we not recorded evidence that the bronze was cast many years after Richard Beauchamp’s death. Similarly, stock portraiture is to be accepted in the alabaster monuments scattered all over England, which, defaced and neglected as they often now are, were works of fine sculpture, and peculiar to England; for alabaster is an English commodity, quarried in Derbyshire, but conveyed, we think, to London and other cities for working by crafts of imagers. The most accomplished of such alabaster monuments is at Ewelme (Plate XVI, a)—the ‘Duchess of Suffolk’, that must be assigned to the London school.

Other popular sculptures by imagers were made for placing above altars. England was famous for alabaster images, so that we find them ordered for the Pope. The material was also specially in demand for the pictures in relief of sacred scenes. Retables were in the fifteenth century carved for the Jesus and Virgin altars respectively, and often a third set was supplied for the altar of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. The production of such pieces was continuous, and these alabaster retables, bright with colour and gilding, may be

taken as the representative English sculpture of the fifteenth century. They have been carried all over the Continent, and are still to be seen in churches and museums in Italy, Germany, Denmark, Iceland, Spain, and in large numbers in France—some just as they were supplied from the English shops four and five hundred years ago. What sort of sculpture appeared in these tables can be judged from the 'Adoration of the Magi' (illustrated on Plate XVI, b). Fifteenth-century art has become anecdotal in these tables. Sculpture is now narrative and based on literary suggestion. It attempts the story, not the faith, of the Bible, with all the legendary and apocryphal detail of each scene crowded into the relief. So we find in the bosses of the fifteenth-century vaults, as especially at Norwich, where there are over a thousand of such little figure-pieces.

The shift of sculptural style becomes evident when fifteenth-century sculpture was no longer expressing that great architectural creation which had reached its zenith at Wells, Westminster, and Lincoln, and the power of which still lingered up to 1350 in the Exeter statues. After the Black Death, mediaeval statue-work in England was a shop-production, that is, a matter of addition to building, not, as it had been, the essence of architecture. The statue lost its monumental simplicity, as it gained in imitative intention. This was to be seen already in the fourteenth century in such furniture pieces as the Percy Tomb at Beverley (Plate XV, a), the work of a York shop, *c.* 1340. During the 150 years which followed the images sent out for the niches of screens were respectable 'kings' and 'saints' of good style and correct mien, as in the Canterbury screen (Plate XV, b) or Henry V's Chapel at Westminster—but they have missed the nobility of thirteenth-century modelling, and are without the romantic touch of fourteenth-century style. The shop-statues were now the matter of course, and supplied in quantity for the grand manner that the dignity of royal chapels demanded. The array of them in Henry VII's Chapel (Plate XV, c) is a gallery of conventional types. English traditions survived beside the introduced Renaissance of Henry VIII's Italian sculptor, as can be seen in the charming little statues of the bronze screen (Plate XV, d).

Such was the last word of the English mediaeval statue. But besides all this image-work there was a larger architectural sculpture which should be noticed, because the expression of fifteenth-century conditions gave it a special vigour. The great building of parish churches, that was a peculiarly English building, developed a decorative figure-work, notably in the great hammer-beam oak roofs that are the characteristic creations of the English carpenter. For example, in the Norfolk churches, as at March (Plate XVII, a), the angels of the ceiling are set in ranks thrice repeated, their fluttering wings so far outstretched that from principal to principal they almost touch, so that the celestial throng seems to fill the air. And if angels inside, so devils outside were the popular

fifteenth-century sculptures of the parish churches. Especially in the West of England was a bold carving of gargoyles—the hobgoblin fancies which the country-side mason was always ready to improvise from the types of ale-house concourse. Such was the sculpture for the people, a sort of religious heraldry suited to simple beliefs still warm and natural in expression; while for great lords and royalties there was the armorial heraldry, the tradition of grand style, as at King's College Chapel, Cambridge (Pl. XVII, b), accomplished, conventional, cold.

However, the most peculiar and interesting pieces in late mediaeval work are those of the wood-carver on the benches and misericords, or brackets under the choir seats (Plate XVIII). The anecdotal absorption of fifteenth-century sculpture can be appreciated in these little subjects of the wood-carver. They are seldom taken from the Bible, or only because the motive makes amusing anecdote, as 'Samson with the gates of Gaza', or 'Jonah and the whale' at Ripon. What the carver of misericords aimed at was to be entertaining, and he borrowed from every kind of literary source; from Romance, as in the story of Alexander the Great carried to heaven by griffins; from moral treatise, as in the strange tale of the tiger and the hunters, who, stealing her cubs, throw a mirror in her path to stop her—for looking at herself she forgets her losses. This is an anecdotal morality to warn us how the Devil steals away our virtues and throws a mirror to us to cajole us into forgetting our degradation. Such story-telling based on the fantastic natural history of the Bestiaries, and dealing with all kinds of animals and monsters, can be seen carved in a thousand forms on the English misericords (Plate XVIII, a). Their method was applied all round. The fox in a friar's cowl preaching to the geese is another characteristic example of mediaeval chaff. So we have the Oxford dignitaries caricatured (Plate XVIII, b), as well as the pure *genre* of all social and domestic scenes, the works of the field, and the humours of village life. Thus to the end the figure-work of English churches was immediately reflective of reality. It was never a pose of art, or worked with any consciousness that a style could be dedicated to religion and be stamped with formalism to become a fetish. What people thought and did, that mediaeval sculpture carved, for the reason that to the mediaeval perception life was faith.



*Westminster Abbey: panel in foundation chamber
painting on panel full size E. W. Tristram 1900*

Westminster Abbey: panel from Retable.
From a Water Colour Copy by E. W. Tristram.

LONDON AND WESTMINSTER PAINTERS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY W. R. LETHBRIDGE

We all have a general idea of the place of painting and its development in Italy during the Middle Ages. We know how it derived its traditions from the Byzantine school, and how in the thirteenth century the art took on a more national type. The same phenomena were common all over Europe, in France, Germany, England, and Spain. Good cause might be shown for giving German and Lombard art the first place from the middle to the twelfth century, and French art in the thirteenth. It seems to have been the victory of the native Byzantine traditions in Italy with the 'Gothic' spirit of France, which led up to the new departure in Italian painting and sculpture made by Giotto and Pisano.

The development of painting and sculpture in England was probably not so closely associated with the arts of France. In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries we had schools of art of the same kind as those of France and Italy. In the printing of books some think that at one time we led the world.

The medieval painters of the several art centres—in London—formed a craft and fraternity exactly as did those of Italy. In the earlier time, say before the thirteenth century, most of them were in the monasteries, but during the thirteenth century the lay element was much increased, and probably most of the painters from that time kept shops.

Of course there was practically only one art of painting, the art which today in a degraded form is represented by the house-painter and decorator. The painting of tessellated glass soon split off into separate crafts, and some painters perhaps specialised in heraldry, but generally speaking a painter was a house-painter, deriving his traditions from what had been the similar state of affairs in Greece and Rome. The idea of artist and non-artist in the crafts of painting had not been born.

In England at the end of the thirteenth century we had brother craftsmen of Duccio, Cimabue, and Giotto. The great difference between later Italian painting and English painting is this: in Italy primitive art passed by continuous development into renaissance painting. In England there came about the great

¹ It has been said that the late Professor Legros wished to be called a 'house-painter' on his tomb.



Westminster Abbey: panel from the Book of Hours
From a Water Colour Copy by E. W. Poynter

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BY W. R. LETHABY

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The development of painting and sculpture in England was parallel to, and closely associated with, the arts of France. In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries we had schools of art of the same kind as those of France and Italy. In the painting of books some think that at one time we led the world.

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disruption caused by the repudiation of national art in favour of copying the developed art of Italy, which had been rapidly changed owing to her artists realizing that she occupied Roman ground, and that by copying the old indigenous classic art they might claim a special culture. Vasari's narrative is continuous from the Byzantines to the semi-moderns; of England I have heard an academician say—'there was no painting before Hogarth'. Thus have our traditions been forgotten and flouted, but probably any deeper national power in art will require as a basis some sense of continuity and nationality.

The most brilliant period of English art was the second half of the thirteenth century, and its chief centre was Westminster, where, under the patronage of Henry III, a great concourse of artists gathered from all parts of Europe to assist in the works which that king was always undertaking at Westminster and at his other palaces. The four most famous painters during the last years of the king's life were William of Florence, John of St. Omer, Peter of Hispania, and William of Westminster. The first was probably an Italian, the second a Frenchman, and the third a Spaniard. The fourth was a monk and 'the king's beloved painter'. I have before suggested that the noble wall-painting in St. Faith's Chapel at the Abbey (which would be a famous picture if it were in the vestry of Sta Croce instead of in that of a London church) may be his work; it was certainly painted about 1270, and by the side of it is a praying *monk*, doubtless a portrait of the artist.

A second wonderful work painted about the same time is the retable, a decorative panelled picture, long and low, now preserved in Jerusalem Chamber. It has been very much injured, but its whole character can easily be made out. Mr. Tristram, who has during several years studied these Westminster paintings, has made a copy of one of the panels, which he allows us to reproduce. It will be described more fully in his notes given below. In a short account of these paintings written some years ago I suggested that this retable was wrought by Master Walter of Durham, who decorated the celebrated Painted Chamber in the palace. Our second reproduction is from another of Mr. Tristram's drawings, which represents the head of a much decayed figure of Edward the Confessor on the back of the sedilia in the Choir of the church, which Mr. Tristram has made out with much skill and patience. By the generosity of Mr. Yates Thompson a record of this fine figure, of the full size, has been woven in tapestry by Messrs. Morris & Co. and given to the church.

The painted sedilia were made in 1308. As at this time Master Thomas the Painter, son of Master Walter, who seems to have succeeded his father as king's painter, was at work at the palace we may tentatively assign the work to him. In 1307-8 Master Thomas of Westminster was engaged in repairing defects in 'divers ystories' in the *Camera depicta* and other chambers and chapels for 264 days at 6*d.* a day. He was assisted by about a dozen others, amongst whom we

find the names of William of Sudbury, Simon of Bradstrete [London], John of Bristol, and Simon de Bordeaux.

The London painters mostly lived in the Cripplegate district—Red Cross Street, White Cross Street, Bread Street, Wood Street, &c., and they had their guild in St. Giles's Church. A certificate of guilds in 1389 at the Public Record Office (No. 463), headed 'Peyntres de Loundres', runs: 'These are the points which the honest men of the mestier of painters in honour of God and of his mother and St. Luke the Evangelist have ordained at the Church of St. Giles outside Cripplegate of London. . . . They shall each pay 9*d.* for maintaining a perpetual lamp before the images of our Lady and of St. Luke,' &c. Another document (Certificate of Guilds 205) contains a statement of the affairs of the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Giles. This mentions a holding of Master Hugh the Painter in the parish. This was Master Hugh of St. Albans, a famous painter of the second half of the fourteenth century, who worked at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.

This Master Hugh in 1361 made his will which was proved in 1368. In it he desired to be buried in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and made a bequest to 'the painter's light' in St. Mary's Chapel. All his implements and colours were to be sold. His mansion house, with all vessels of silver, brass, &c., he left to his wife Agnes, and 20*s.* to one undertaking a pilgrimage to Canterbury with naked feet, and offering a penny there on his behalf. He also made a bequest to the hermits of London, and further left to his wife *unam tabulam de VII peces de Lumbardy*, which cost £20 irrespective of its case. It may be mentioned that the influence of North Italian painting certainly was felt in England in the second half of the fourteenth century. In this record we seem to have one example of the means by which this was brought about.

Most of the painters working at Westminster were doubtless, like Master Hugh, the settled craftsmen of London. An important family of painters during the fourteenth century was that of the Stockwells. In the accounts for the works at the Painted Chamber in the royal palace for the years 1292-4, the name of Richard de Stokwell appears working under Master Walter, and receiving 6*d.* a day. In 1336 the wife of John de Stokwell, painter, died, leaving a house then held by Richard de Stokwell in the Parish of St. Giles. This is probably a second Richard. In the year 1338 he was one of the eight 'best men' of his Ward of Cripplegate, appointed to 'patrol the city day and night to preserve the King's Peace'. In 1349 Richard died, leaving to his son Hugh tenements in Red Cross Street [Cripplegate], and to his wife his 'mansion house'. Hugh died only a day or two after—it was the year of the terrible Black Death—and his will was proved the next before his father's. In the next year the will of Walter de Stokwell was proved. In it he expressed a desire to be buried in St. Giles, Cripplegate, and left to it various bequests, including

a gilt pall to be used at his own and subsequent funerals, and to the Rood of St. Mary ten shillings. Also to the Altar *de pictoribus* an entire vestment with cope worth 100s. To his wife he devised his house in White Cross Street [Cripplegate], he released his apprentice Thomas of the residue of his term of service, and he left 60 gold *scudi* [Italian influence again] for a pilgrim to visit the Holy Land for the good of his soul. He was evidently a man of good fortune.

Another painter, Gilbert Prynne, died in 1396, leaving instructions that he was to be buried in St. Giles's Church. His house in this parish contained a hall, chamber, pantry, butlery, and kitchen; the hall was hung with a large *dorser* of *Worsted* embroidered. Clearly it was a pleasant place.

From these wills of London painters we get sufficient evidence to show that from the thirteenth century members of the craft were in the habit of living in the Parish of St. Giles, and that they belonged to a guild of painters who met in that church.

In 1467 the ordinances of the Mistery of Painters were confirmed by the Court of Aldermen. They were authorized to assemble in some honest place and to elect two true and witty men free of the craft as wardens, and six assistants to help search for bad goods. Neglect of the brethren to meet in Common Hall was punished by a fine of a pound of wax, to be divided between the Guildhall Chapel and the light of St. Luke (which we have seen was in St. Giles's Church). The rules provide for methods of workmanship, especially in regard to the use of gold and tinfoil; the latter was to be wrought with oil colours. Only fine gold was to be used for work of 'entail'. 'No manner of signs hanging or standing in the weather' were to be wrought with fine gold. In a list of guilds of 1469, painters and stainers are given separately; in a list of 1485 the latter are not mentioned, but in 1502-3 the painter-stainers appear together. In this year the livery numbered eighteen (W. C. Hazlitt, *Livery Companies*). Doubtless the original meeting-place of the Mistery was near Cripplegate. In 1531-2 the house of Sir John Browne in Little Trinity Lane—who was made Sergeant Painter to Henry VIII in 1511—came into the possession of the craft, and here they met from this time. At Painters' Hall a portrait of Sir John Browne is preserved, which forms an important link between the old and the new.



Head of St. Edward the Confessor. From the Sedilia, Westminster Abbey.

From a Water Colour Copy by E. W. Tristram.

NOTES ON THE PLATES

By E. W. TRISTRAM

The retable of the high altar of Henry III's time, which is 'clearly a work made about 1270', measures eleven feet in length and about three feet in height, and is separated into five divisions by vertical moulded strips. These strips are made to resemble rich metal-work by being gilt, and adorned with imitation gems and enamel, and with small heads in relief, modelled in gesso, placed at intervals on oval shapes of coloured glass. Enamel is imitated by painting patterns on the gold in bright colours, thin lines of gold being left to resemble cloisons, and overlaying the whole with transparent glass. The outer divisions of the retable are occupied by single canopies, gilt and adorned with a kind of glass mosaic. The canopy on the dexter side shelters a painting of Saint Peter holding the keys and clothed in a tunic and mantle. No trace of painting remains in the corresponding division on the sinister side.

The centre division is occupied by a triple canopy, which is again decorated with gold and glass mosaic. The clustered columns supporting the canopy are enriched over the gold with a painted pattern in black of fleurs-de-lis in diamonds, and another of eagles and lions in circles with diamonds containing fleurs-de-lis and dragons set between. In the centre is a painted figure of Christ in majesty. He is clothed in a rose-coloured tunic and green mantle edged with a fine golden pattern. Barefooted, and with His right hand raised in the act of blessing, He supports with His left the universe. The universe is no more than an inch in diameter, and is a wonder of minute painting. On it are depicted fishes in the sea, beasts and fowls on the land, whilst a golden sky is flecked with light clouds and living stars. On the dexter side of the Majesty is a figure of the Virgin clad in green tunic and rose mantle, holding in her left hand a palm branch, and pointing upwards with her right. On the sinister side is Saint John, also with a palm branch at his right hand, and holding a book with his left. The divisions on either side of the centre are filled with four star-shaped panels. The spaces between these panels have a ground of deep blue glass painted over with a trailing pattern of vine in gold, and the divisions are moulded and again made to resemble richly jewelled gold work and cloisonné enamel with quatrefoil bosses at the crossings. All traces of painting have disappeared from the panels on the sinister side, but on three of the four panels on the dexter side are represented miracles. The first is the Healing of Jairus's daughter: the second is the Restoring Sight to the blind man. Only a fragment of colour remains on the third, but on the fourth is painted the miracle of Herding the Five Thousand, which is perhaps the best preserved of them all. It is reproduced about two-thirds full size in Plate XIX. Christ is depicted



Head of St. Edward the Confessor, from the Sellar, Westminster Abbey.
Painted by E. W. Tristram.

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surrounded by the apostles, offering a loaf to a clamouring crowd, whilst one of the apostles stands by, holding loaves and fishes in his arms.

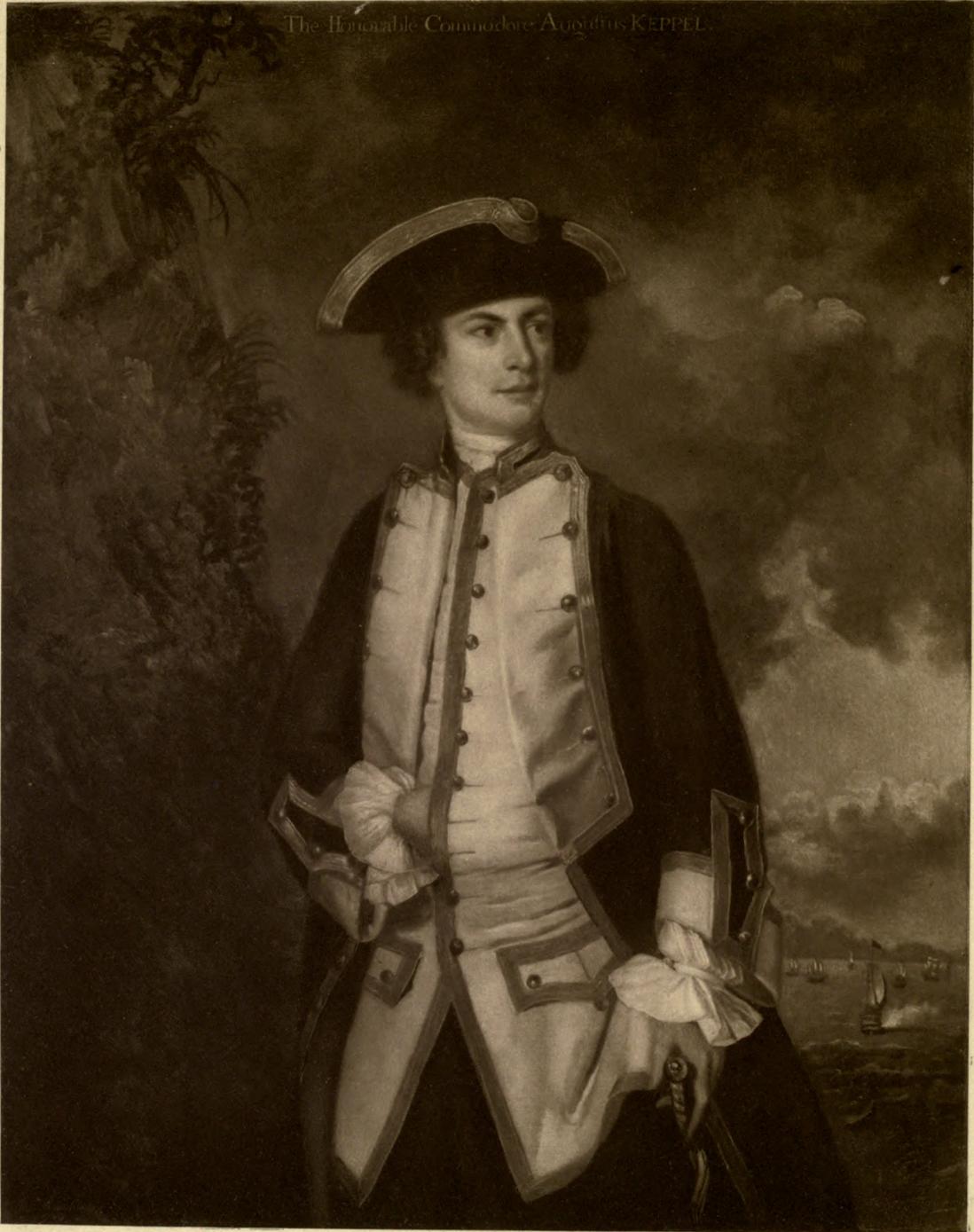
The ground is of oaken boards laid horizontally, with parchment strips placed over the joints, and the whole covered with gesso about one-sixteenth of an inch deep. This use of parchment appears to have had fatal results, because by contracting it has caused the gesso at the joints to become detached. The background to the figures is gilt, and tooled with an incised pattern of lozenges and spots, but, unlike the Italian method, no bole is laid on the gesso as a preparation for the gold leaf. The painting has the appearance of being done in true egg tempera, and with extraordinary skill in handling. The colours are exquisitely modelled, which is a process much more difficult in tempera than in oil, owing to the egg medium drying or setting very rapidly. The colours are all pure and bright. Shades of green are used, contrasting with reds varying from rose to vermilion. The whole is kept fair by white fur linings to the drapery, and further brightened by fine patterned borders in gold. With warm flesh tints and the tooled and glittering background of gold, it forms a wonderfully rich and beautiful colour scheme.

These paintings are undoubtedly the finest of the thirteenth century in England. They belong to the great period of English painting when it was freed from Byzantine restraint and had become infused with new life but still remained monumental in character. The position the retable occupied on the high altar ensured its being of the very finest workmanship it was possible to procure, and the absolute certainty in the execution and the amazing power of expression clearly show the hand of a great master.

The head represented on Plate XX is the most perfect portion that remains of a painting of Saint Edward the Confessor on the back of the sedilia at Westminster Abbey, which were erected in 1308 over the tomb of King Sebert. The figure is very nearly eight feet high, and represents the Saint holding a ring which he is offering to Saint John the Evangelist, who was painted on the adjacent panel. Here, however, all traces of painting have completely disappeared. Unfortunately very little remains of the figure of Saint Edward, but with extreme care it is possible to find traces of the whole of the painting and to obtain a clear idea of what it must have been. He is clothed in a green tunic and a mantle of rose colour lined with vair. His hands are gloved: in his left he bears a sceptre and on his head a crown. Both sceptre and crown and also the patterned nimbus are in gold. The ground upon which he stands seems to have been a field of flowers. The head with its grey locks and flowing beard is kingly and dignified. It is less than half full size in the plate, the original being fifteen inches across the nimbus. Saint Edward is said to have been an albino, and it is quite possible that it was the intention of the painter to represent him as such here. On the front of the sedilia are corresponding paintings of two other kings, but these,

although very much better preserved, were varnished about a hundred years ago. The varnish has become brown and obscured the colour and quality of the painting. Fortunately the figure of Saint Edward was left untouched, and in consequence one can see that the colours, although painted solidly, were fair and clear. When cleaned of the dust which obscures the painting there appears to be a slight glaze as though of varnish, which is quite possible, since varnish is frequently mentioned in the records amongst the materials bought for the painters. As in the case of the retable the paintings were probably done in the manner of true egg tempera, and the ground which consists of boards is covered with a very thin coat of gesso.

The Honorable Commodore Augustus KEPPEL.



*The Hon. Augustus Keppel R. N.
From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds painted at Minorca in 1749*

REYNOLDS'S FIRST PORTRAIT OF KEPPEL

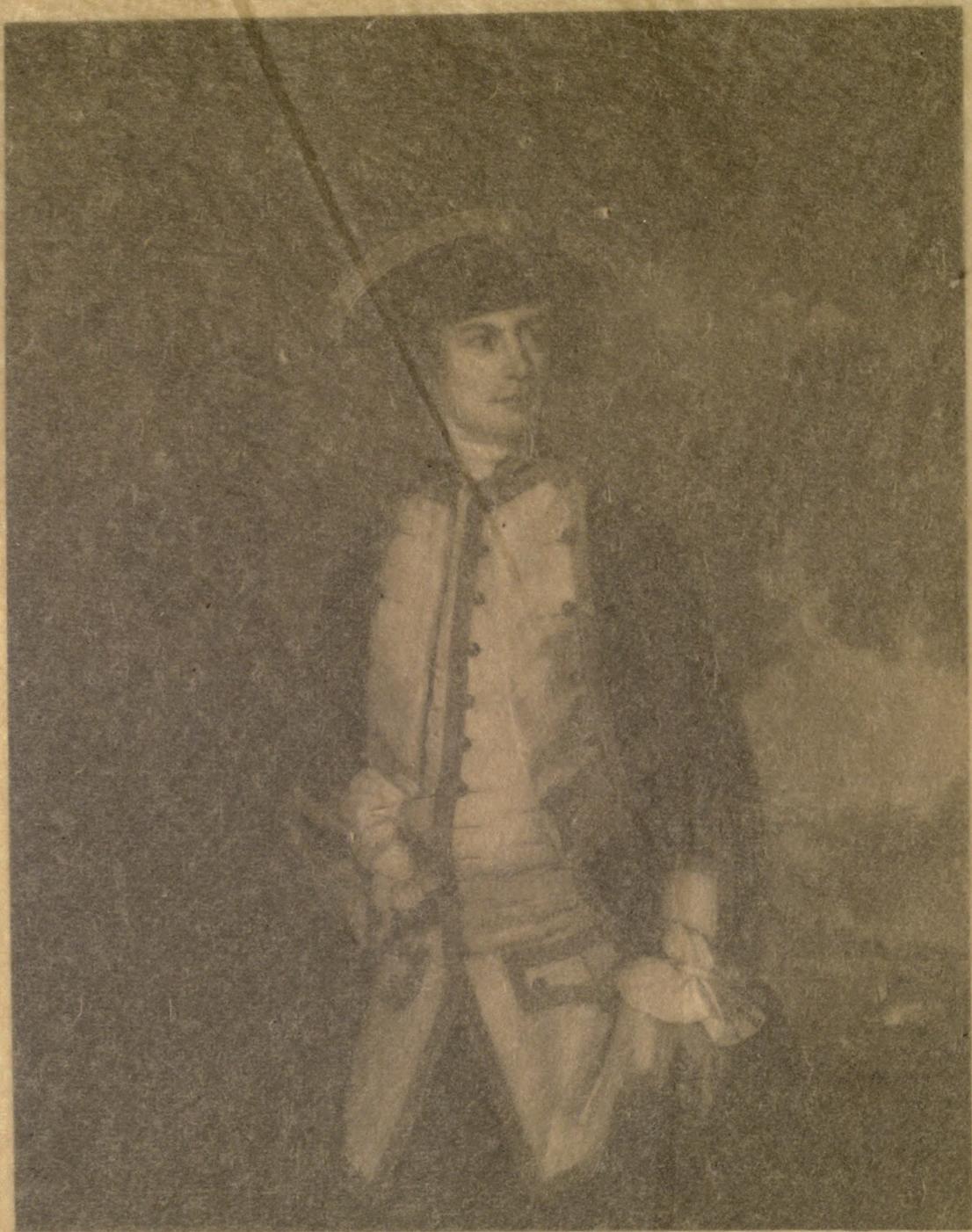
(1) BY LENNARD O'MALLEY

THE portrait of Keppel which is represented in the photogravure accompanying this volume depicts him at the age of twenty-four as a Commodore; and was the work of Reynolds at the age of twenty-seven, while he was still unknown, and while he was on his way to Rome to attain 'the height of his wishes', the study of the Italian Masters. It was formerly the property of that branch of the Keppel family which derives from the Bishop of Exeter, Keppel's brother; and, as the Bishop married Laura Walpole, a grand-daughter of Sir Robert Walpole and a niece of Horace Walpole, it was probably known to the Walpoles, and for this association alone, quite apart from its interest as registering a stage hitherto obscure in Reynolds's art, merits a place in a publication of the Walpole Society. It was sold at Christie's last June, was bought by Mr. Shepherd of King Street, and is now the property of Mr. Robinson of Old Buckenham Hall, Norfolk, where it hangs not far from Elveden Hall, the former home of Keppel himself.

In Christie's catalogue the picture was not assigned to any painter. The inscription which can be seen at the bottom left-hand corner of the photogravure, and which assigns the picture to 'Renolds' (*sic*) '1749', was at that time overlaid with surface grime, and though the date 1749 was visible on minute inspection, the picture was hung so high at Christie's that the figures escaped the attention of most, if not of all but one. They certainly were not seen by Mr. Shepherd or by me. But the dare-devil spirit of the figure and its air of romantic chivalry suggested the hand of a master—probably Reynolds. Other considerations, which are summarized below, pointed to Reynolds and served to confirm, if confirmation were necessary, the evidence of the inscription.

(1) The figure is obviously younger than that of the picture by Reynolds of Keppel on the seashore now in the possession of Lord Rosebery. This, which is known to have launched Reynolds successfully into the world of fashion, was admittedly painted in 1752 after Reynolds's return from Rome. The figure of the photogravure is slim; that of the 1752 picture shows the stoutness which grew steadily as Keppel grew older, and is as steadily recorded with cruel fidelity in Reynolds's portraits.

From this it would seem that the picture must have been painted a year or two before 1752.



*The Hon. Augustus Keppel R. N.
From the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, painted at Minorca in 1740*

REYNOLDS'S FIRST PORTRAIT OF KEPPEL

(1) BY LENNARD O'MALLEY

THE portrait of Keppel which is represented in the photogravure accompanying this volume depicts him at the age of twenty-four as a Commodore; and was the work of Reynolds at the age of twenty-seven, while he was still unknown, and while he was on his way to Rome to attain 'the height of his wishes', the study of the Italian Masters. It was formerly the property of that branch of the Keppel family which derives from the Bishop of Exeter, Keppel's brother; and, as the Bishop married Laura Walpole, a grand-daughter of Sir Robert Walpole and a niece of Horace Walpole, it was probably known to the Walpoles, and for this association alone, quite apart from its interest as registering a stage hitherto obscure in Reynolds's art, merits a place in a publication of the Walpole Society. It was sold at Christie's last June, was bought by Mr. Shepherd of King Street, and is now the property of Mr. Robinson of Old Buckenham Hall, Norfolk, where it hangs not far from Elveden Hall, the former home of Keppel himself.

In Christie's catalogue the picture was not assigned to any painter. The inscription which can be seen at the bottom left-hand corner of the photogravure, and which assigns the picture to 'Renolds' (*sic*) '1749', was at that time overlaid with surface grime, and though the date 1749 was visible on minute inspection, the picture was hung so high at Christie's that the figures escaped the attention of most, if not of all but one. They certainly were not seen by Mr. Shepherd or by me. But the dare-devil spirit of the figure and its air of romantic chivalry suggested the hand of a master—probably Reynolds. Other considerations, which are summarized below, pointed to Reynolds and served to confirm, if confirmation were necessary, the evidence of the inscription.

(1) The figure is obviously younger than that of the picture by Reynolds of Keppel on the seashore now in the possession of Lord Rosebery. This, which is known to have launched Reynolds successfully into the world of fashion, was admittedly painted in 1752 after Reynolds's return from Rome. The figure of the photogravure is slim; that of the 1752 picture shows the stoutness which grew steadily as Keppel grew older, and is as steadily recorded with cruel fidelity in Reynolds's portraits.

From this it would seem that the picture must have been painted a year or two before 1752.

(2) The other limit of date for the picture is fixed by the uniform. Before 1748 there was no uniform general through the Navy. Officers seem to have dressed as they pleased. For example, at the taking of Payta by Anson in 1741, during his voyage round the world in the *Centurion*, it is narrated of Keppel, who was on board, that 'one side of the peak' of his 'jockey cap' 'was shaved off close to his temple by a ball'. In 1747 experiments were tried with a uniform, but this was 'gray faced with red'. It was not till April 1748 that the blue uniform with white facings (said to be based on a riding-habit of the Duchess of Bedford which caught the King's eye and fancy), such as appears in the 1749 portrait, was adopted and became obligatory.

As regards the rank indicated by the uniform it is difficult, if not impossible, to discover any book which deals with the point, and comparison between the uniform of the picture and the uniforms exhibited at the United Service Institution Museum shows that either the Museum or the picture is wrong; for the picture's uniform is an amalgam of the Museum uniforms of captains of less than three years' standing on the one hand, and more than three years' on the other hand. Assuming that the senior captain might incorporate points from the junior captain's uniform, but not vice versa, then, as Keppel became a post-captain on December 15, 1745, the picture was painted after December 15, 1748.

(3) In 1749 Keppel left England for Algiers to bring the Dey of Algiers to book for outrages done by Algerian pirates to English vessels. His squadron numbered seven ships. His own boat was the *Centurion*, in which he had sailed round the world with Anson. The *Centurion* sprang both her topmasts and put into Plymouth for repairs. Here Keppel called on Lord Mount Edgcumbe and met Reynolds, whose reputation at that time was limited to Plymouth. Reynolds was anxious to study the great masters at Rome, and Keppel, always anxious to please, offered him a passage to the Mediterranean. They set sail on May 11, and reached the Bay of Algiers on June 29. Here is an extract from a letter which Reynolds wrote from Rome about the voyage to Lord Mount Edgcumbe:

'I have been at Lisbon, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Algiers and Mahon. . . . Your Lordship will excuse me if I say that, from the kind treatment and great civilities I have received from the Commodore, I fear I have laid your Lordship under obligations to him on my account; since from nothing but your Lordship's recommendation, I could possibly expect to meet with that polite behaviour with which I have always been treated. I had the use of his cabin, and his study of books, as if they had been my own; and when he went on shore he generally took me with him: so that I not only had an opportunity of seeing a great deal, but I saw it with all the advantages as if I had travelled as his equal.'

Here, then, at one stage in the critical period 1748-51, we find Keppel in

the company of just the artist capable of painting the picture, and as Keppel was at sea on his Algerian mission from April 1749 till July 1751, it will be seen that not only was Reynolds the right artist but also the only artist during this portion of the critical period that had the opportunity of painting him.

(4) When Keppel reached the Bay of Algiers in June 1749, the Dey saluted him with twenty-one guns. Keppel replied. Unfortunately the last gun of the salute was by accident loaded with shot. The Dey made the most of this, as the following extract from a letter of his shows :

'The custom ever was here, upon the arrival of any of His Majesty's ships, that our castles welcomed every such with twenty-one guns. We ordered the same to be fired for you, on your anchoring in the Bay, which was accordingly done. We expected you would have complied with custom on your side. Instead of which twenty guns were fired from the ship you were on board of with powder only, and one gun, the very last, with a shot, which added to the red flag you wear on your main-topmast head, we look upon as a mark of your being on no good design but rather threatening us with War and Blood.'

Now in the picture seven ships may be seen in the background. The largest ship is firing a shot and flying a red pennant. Is this merely a conventional setting, or is it more than a coincidence that this background should exactly describe an incident which took place when Reynolds was on board ship, and which is bound to have impressed itself on his memory as a most unfortunate prelude to a difficult mission?

(5) The day after his arrival in the Bay, the Commodore interviewed the Dey, and the meeting is thus recorded in Northcote's *Life of Reynolds* :

'Commodore Keppel, having proceeded with his squadron to Algiers, anchored in the Bay directly opposite to and within gunshot of the palace ; and then went on shore, accompanied by his captain and attended only by his barge's crew. On his arrival at the palace he demanded an audience, and on his admission to the divan, laid open his embassy, requiring at the same time, in the name of his sovereign, ample satisfaction for the injuries done to the British nation. Surprised at the boldness of his remonstrances, and enraged at his demands for justice, the Dey, despising his apparent youth, for he was then only four and twenty, exclaimed that he wondered at the insolence of the King of Great Britain in sending him an insignificant beardless boy.

'On this the youthful but spirited Commodore replied, "Had my master supposed that wisdom was measured by the length of the beard, he would have sent your Deyship a he-goat." The tyrant, unused to such language from the sycophants of his own court, was so enraged that he ordered his mutes to advance with the bowstring, at the same time telling the Commodore that he should pay for his audacity with his life. The Commodore listened to this menace with the utmost calmness, and being near to a window which looked out on the Bay directed the attention of the African chief to the squadron there

at anchor, telling him that if it was his pleasure to put him to death, there were Englishmen enough on board to make him a glorious funeral pile. The Dey cooled a little at this hint and was wise enough to permit the Commodore to depart in safety.'

Although the Commodore's journal makes no mention of this story, one cannot but feel as one looks at the picture that figure and story fit. It is just as if the painter were obsessed with the idea 'Set a pirate to catch a pirate'. And it is not a little singular that the cock of the head in this picture is reminiscent of the picture in the National Portrait Gallery of Rajah Brooke, privateer suppressor of Borneo pirates.

(6) The pose of the figure is in the Hudsonian manner—hat on head, right hand Napoleonwise in waistcoat, left hand on stick to get hands and hat out of the painter's way. Further there are no deep shadows on the face. All this is in keeping with Reynolds's work before 1750, when he had not yet learned to emancipate himself under the guidance of the Italian masters from his old master Hudson, and had not discovered from the Venetians the use of deep shadows for the features.

All these indications appeared to establish a strong presumption, though not conclusive proof, of Reynolds's hand. On the day on which the picture was sold I mentioned them to Mr. Shepherd, the purchaser, as pointing to Reynolds as the author, and 1749 as the date of the picture. As regarded the painter, Mr. Shepherd on aesthetic grounds had already arrived at the same conclusion, and as regards the date came into line a few days after, when a well-known connoisseur of pictures in Norfolk informed him that while the picture was at Christie's he had seen on it the figures 1749. Subsequent cleaning revealed the ascription to 'Renolds' (*sic*). Even if this ascription to Reynolds is eliminated from consideration on the ground that the misspelling shows that it was not put there by Reynolds himself, the mere date is sufficient proof of the authorship. In 1749 the old style obtained, and under that style the year did not begin till March 25. As Keppel was at sea from April 25, 1749, till the end of 1749 (Old Style March 24, 1749) either the picture was painted by some unknown artist in the month March 25–April 25, or by Reynolds, who was in touch with him from May 11 to December, 1749, when Reynolds left for Rome. As between these two alternatives there can be no doubt that the latter must be chosen.

On looking at this portrait and comparing it with others by Reynolds of Keppel, one cannot but feel that it is the most natural of them all, and that whereas the others may depict more truly the spirit of the office which Keppel may have held at the time or of the emergency which he may have had to face, this goes more home to the heart of the man. Like others who have borne his name, both before and after him, Keppel owed advancement to a rare charm

of manner, to loyalty as protégé, friend, and patron, to a daring that sprang from high animal spirits, and to a steady energy which supported and animated routine. With these special qualities of charm, loyalty, courage, and fire, the officer in the picture is dominated. And the picture makes it easy to understand how this young man of twenty-four came to be chosen for the task of tackling pirates, which required courage and diplomacy, and for the Commandership-in-Chief of the Mediterranean at a time when there had been considerable friction between men-of-war and the land forces at the naval base of Minorca. Keppel, in fact, was an amphibious fighter—a man who did best when he had fighting to do, and at the same time had to keep things going smoothly between land and sea. Hence his success in his negotiations between Minorca and Algiers, between General Braddock and the fleet in America, between Pocock's fleet and the land forces at the Havannah, and between the Tories as represented by Palliser, his second-in-command in 1778, and the Whigs as represented by himself, although the failure of Palliser to co-operate with him brought about the failure to convert his indecisive engagement into a victory. This charm, hit off by Reynolds so happily in 1749, is missing in the other later portraits, though they are magnificently characteristic of the naval officer at sundry epochs of an officer's career.

There is a violent contrast between this picture and Lord Rosebery's Reynolds of 1752. The 1749 picture is instinct with the cavalier spirit of England. It might be taken to represent a cavalier in commodore's uniform turned Robin Hood or Dick Turpin. Though the figure is standing, so buoyant is it that it might represent a man on horseback moving at the trot. One would expect a nodding plume in the three-cornered hat. The 1752 picture represents Keppel, bareheaded, on the sea-shore superintending his crew after the wreck of his ship in pursuing a French boat too far in shore. Reynolds is said to have taken the pose of the body from a statue of Apollo. It is not perhaps extravagant to speculate that by an act of imaginative insight Reynolds identified the statue with the figure of Apollo at the opening of the *Iliad* coming down like night from the heights of heaven to the sea-shore and letting fly his arrows at the Greek ship. In a statue Apollo would be holding his bow in his left hand after his shot, with left foot forward, while his right hand would go to his side for another arrow from his quiver. As Keppel is pointing to direct his men, Reynolds has reversed the hands. The right hand is extended, while the left steadies the sword at Keppel's side. But all the energy of the Apollo of Homer is there, and with the tossing sea behind him Keppel looks as if he were propelled from earth by the elemental force of wind and water.

Among other well-known pictures by Reynolds of Keppel the following deserve mention :—That of 1760, known, like the picture of 1752, by an engraving of Fisher. It was painted the year after Quiberon Bay, in which Keppel in

Boscawen's old boat, the *Torbay*, had a hand in the sinking of the *Thésée*, and the year before his capture of Belle Isle. One of these pictures belongs to Viscount Falmouth, the other to the Duke of Bedford. These pictures show a gallant upstanding captain suggesting by his mingled charm and courage that the brave have the fascination to win the fair. An interesting grisaille of Keppel's head by Reynolds which belongs to Lord Aberdare seems to have been painted about this time.

The picture of 1778, well known through Doughty's magnificent engraving, gives Keppel in command of the squadron that was to intercept and crush the French fleet, but which could not bring the French to a decisive engagement. This conveys to an extraordinary degree the idea of a watchdog sea-dog. The original belongs to Sir John Ramsden and hangs at Bulstrode Park—a legacy probably from Lord Rockingham, Keppel's friend, possibly from Mr. Weddell, one of Keppel's party. A duplicate belongs to Baroness Burton.

The portrait in the National Gallery was given to Erskine, who defended Keppel at his trial after this indecisive action. Keppel is holding up his sword so ostentatiously that one cannot but think that it represents the scene in which the court martial returned him his sword, and that it epitomizes the words which Fox afterwards used of Keppel in the House of Commons in 1781, and which were engraved on the box containing the freedom given him by the City of London in 1779:

MERSES PROFUNDO, PULCHRIOR EVENIT.

This picture was hung last year close to that of Lord Heathfield, who was with Keppel at the reduction of the Havannah, and who was holding Gibraltar at the time when Keppel, as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1782, obtained the order for its relief. The picture of Keppel holding the order was discovered by Mr. Algernon Graves at St. James's Palace, where it was ascribed to Admiral Barrington. It represents Keppel looking very old, with compressed lips, and eyes alive with expectancy.

The portrait in the National Portrait Gallery given to Dunning, Keppel's counsel, shows Keppel resting on his sword looking proudly but angrily askance, as if, according to a contemporaneous account of his appearance after his acquittal, he were half triumphant and half apprehensive of the injury that might accrue to his country if the malevolence of a man's political enemies again had free play.

A third 'trial' portrait given to Lee, another of Keppel's counsel, is known by J. Scott's engraving. Keppel wears a kindly dignified expression as if listening attentively to the reading of the verdict of acquittal.

An admirable picture of Keppel by Reynolds which is a duplicate of one of

the trial portraits—apparently of that given to Lee—is in the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge and hangs at Cranford House, Hounslow.

A fourth trial portrait was exhibited at the last Winter Exhibition of the Academy by Mr. George Fitzwilliam. This portrait belonged to Burke. It is less imposing but more natural than the other three. The fifth trial portrait, which Keppel gave to his brother Lord Albemarle, now belongs to Lord Iveagh.

To the Exhibition of Old English Masters held in Berlin, 1908, H. R. H. Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse sent an unfinished portrait of Keppel by Reynolds. A photograph of this portrait shows a head and shoulders—the head splendidly modelled and wearing a countenance of stern commandment. Details of the dress are not shown, and only the outlines of the arms are given. It is evident from the likeness of the features, and from the pose of head, body, and arms, that this picture is the prototype of the trial portraits, and, so far as can be judged from a photograph, nobler and more plastic even than its more finished duplicates.

From the portrait of 1749 one may see that Reynolds was a great artist even before he went to Rome, and that although most men of genius are said to require a year or two abroad before they are thirty for the quickening and full development of their genius, Reynolds had genius enough without going to Rome. No doubt he learned much from communion with the spirits of the dead speaking to him from their canvases at Rome; no doubt too his constant association, night after night in the season, day after day in his studio, with the best men and women of his time enabled him to replenish his almost unlimited capacity for assimilating the points of view of the best people and for fixing them on his canvas. But granting that he got the trick of arresting a gesture from Garrick, of seizing on an anecdote from Boswell, of registering history from Gibbon, and pomp from Johnson, one turns back to the portrait of 1749 to find the *giaour* charm which is the legacy that Reynolds has left of the hospitality of Keppel at sea during Reynolds's few months on board the *Centurion* before he had been paganized by Rome, Johnsonized by the Literary Club, and sophisticated by men and women of fashion.

For permission to see the pictures belonging to them or for information in connexion with portraits of Keppel I am indebted to the kindness of Herr Flatow, acting for H. R. H. Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, Viscount Falmouth, Lord Aberdare, Sir John Ramsden, Mr. Percy Armitage, acting for Lord Fitzhardinge, Professor Holmes, Mr. Algernon Graves, Mr. James Greig, and Mr. George Shepherd.

(2) BY C. H. COLLINS BAKER

This portrait of Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel, painted by Reynolds in 1849, is interesting in various aspects. To the student of English naval

heroes its unassuming virility and alertness make Keppel a very real personality. In this likeness he seems directly in the line of the English sailor-privatcers who, from Drake and Hawkins, Sir John Harman and Christopher Mings to Henry Morgan, most vividly typified the British sailor temperament. From the historical point of view, moreover, this portrait is important, being one of the earliest likenesses of an English sailor made by an English painter. Indeed at the moment I can only remember Highmore as an English painter of any considerable naval portrait. What the miniaturists in Elizabeth's time or Cooper did in this respect, I cannot say off-hand. But no good English portraits of the Dutch War flagmen have come down; Lely's masterpieces were of Jeremy Smith and Harman; Kneller painted admirable portraits of Fairburn, Benbow, and the others, and Dahl's best piece is his 'Sir Cloudesley Shovel'. But none are portraits of true English character. This Keppel, on the other hand, is conspicuously and exclusively English in temperament.

The Reynolds student has another interest in this picture of 1749. As one of his earliest recognized examples it gives clear clues to his provenance. An earlier portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery,—Dr. Johnson, seated in a chair with a white and blue striped cover, dating, I believe, from 1746. It is no new criticism that Reynolds owes something to the Exeter painter, William Gandy. Sir W. Armstrong has touched on his debt to a painter with whose work he would have been in contact from 1746 to 1749, in Devonshire.¹ These two portraits, the Keppel and the Johnson, are definite examples of what I may call Gandyesque Reynolds. In especial, they closely reproduce the Exeter artist's method of elaborate impasto in the flesh-painting, and his rather weak hand-structure. Keppel's hands may be seen unmistakably in the portraits of Ralph Allen and John Patch by Gandy, in the Exeter County Hospital. So, too, the flesh colour, warm and brownish, with a curious sort of violet-grey bloom in it, that characterizes these early Reynolds, is repeated in the numerous Gandys yet extant in Exeter. A matter of collateral interest is the little influence Hudson had on Reynolds's male portraits.² He certainly is reflected in his pupil's earliest women portraits, but only very slightly in the men. The portrait we are considering shows practically no trace of Hudson, and none of Kneller, who beyond question is an ingredient in certain Reynoldses, as is Dahl in regard to colour. Gandy is clearly reflected, in temper as well as technique. But the predominant characteristic is Reynolds's own temperament, his unmistakable new vitality.

¹ This Gandy is sometimes confused with his father James (1619-89). William was buried in St. Paul's, Exeter, July 14, 1729, so that his influence on Reynolds was posthumous, unless we were to assume that the latter imbibed it at the age of six. It seems difficult to account for the apparently circumstantial tradition that Gandy actually discussed oil-technique with Reynolds.

² A portrait of *The Earl of Radnor*, exhibited in 1912 at Burlington House, attributed to Reynolds and referred to as showing his marked derivation from Hudson, was in fact a signed example of the latter.

TURNER'S 'ISLE OF WIGHT' SKETCH-BOOK

BY ALEXANDER J. FINBERG

TURNER'S work with the pencil point is perhaps the least well known of all the varied forms in which his genius found expression. This is partly because he does not seem ever to have regarded draughtsmanship with the point of the pencil or chalk as an independent form of artistic expression. The pencil was his most constant and familiar tool, and the amount of work he did with it was immense; but for some reason, which we need not inquire into at present, he treated this work entirely as a subordinate means, never as an end in itself—as something to be looked at and admired entirely for its own sake. Turner knew the public were interested in his water-colours and oil paintings, but he does not seem to have thought that they would care equally for his pencil drawings. He did not regard them as ordinary articles of commerce. I doubt if he sold, during the whole of his life, more than a dozen of his drawings of this kind, and we know that he consistently refused to give them away as presents to his friends and acquaintances. His pencil drawings were not part of his stock-in-trade; they were the 'fixtures' of his business—a necessary but private part of the ritual of picture-making.

But that Turner's pencil drawings were made solely for his own private use does not detract either from their general interest or beauty, as works of art. Whether working with the brush, the needle-point, the mezzotint-engraver's scraper or the pencil, Turner's mastery of all the forms of pictorial expression was always apparent. For beauty of line, for expressiveness of touch, no more beautiful line-drawings of landscape and architecture have ever been produced than those with which Turner's sketch-books are filled. It is a great piece of good luck that practically the complete series of these wonderful books is now in the possession of the nation, and is safely stored in the National Gallery. In the fullness of time, no doubt, these treasures will be made freely accessible to the art-loving public. At present, though safely stored, they have to be jealously kept from the gaze of those who would like to study and enjoy them. It has therefore seemed desirable that the Walpole Society should do something to enable the public to get some idea of the artistic treasures it possesses, but may not look at.

'Keep them together' were words frequently on Turner's lips when speaking of his own works, and these words are especially applicable to

the pencil drawings and sketches. It would have been an easy and pleasing task for the Walpole Society to have selected for reproduction a dozen or a score of those drawings remarkable for their beauty of workmanship or the interest of their subject-matter. This was the principle upon which Mr. Ruskin selected the drawings he chose for exhibition at Marlborough House in 1857, and subsequently at the National Gallery. But though this method of selection has certain obvious advantages, it does not bring the student into such close intimacy with Turner's habits of thought and work as if the drawings are studied in the order of their execution. It was therefore decided that the Society should endeavour to reproduce one of the sketch-books in its entirety, and that one of the earlier books should be selected, as the drawings in them are more carefully and elaborately executed than those in the later books. But it was found that most of these early books contained too many drawings to be issued in one volume of the Society's publication. The 'North of England' Sketch-book, used during Turner's first visit to Yorkshire and the Lakes in 1797—an extremely valuable and entrancingly interesting book to the student of Turner's artistic development—contains ninety-five drawings. The 'Tweed and Lakes' Sketch-book, used on the same tour, contains eighty-nine drawings. The 'Hereford Court' Sketch-book, used in 1798, contains no less than a hundred and two striking drawings of Welsh scenery and antiquities. The Committee therefore decided to choose for publication the 'Isle of Wight' Sketch-book of 1795. This contains only about forty drawings. To reproduce even this number of drawings, as near the full size of the originals as the size of the page of our volume would permit, was found to be beyond the scope of our limited resources. Six of the drawings have been reproduced practically the full size of the originals: twenty-one have been reduced to half-pages, four to quarter pages, and fourteen of the slighter and less important sketches have been omitted altogether. But in spite of the disadvantages we have had to labour under, it is hoped that the accompanying set of illustrations will do something to draw attention to the immense value and interest of the Turner sketch-books. Many of the drawings are of considerable artistic and antiquarian importance, and the series shows us exactly how Turner worked and studied from nature at the beginning of his career. The drawings will also prove interesting to the student of the water-colours of this period. The year 1795 marks the period when Turner's style most closely resembled that of Girtin. When a serious effort is made to date Girtin's work and disengage it from Turner's, it will be a great advantage to have these excellent reproductions of Turner's authentic pencil-work to refer to.

Turner was just twenty years of age when he set off on the coach from London with this sketch-book in his possession. The handsome appearance of the book—it is bound in calf and has four brass clasps at its sides—betrays

something of professional ostentation. The list of 'Order'd Drawings' written with a flourish on the fly-leaf also shows that the young artist had attained an honourable footing in his profession. There are at least ten different subjects commissioned by Mr. John Landseer (I take 'Brading Harbour' and 'Bembridge Mill' to be different names of the same subject, and 'Godshill' and 'Motteston Mill' are twice repeated), a well-known engraver in those days, but best remembered now as the father of Sir Edwin Landseer; and two orders from Sir Richard Colt Hoare for views of Salisbury Cathedral. The following is a transcript of these notes (see Plate XXII, a):

'Order'd Drawings.

Godshill	}	10 × 7½.	Mr. Landseer.
Colwill Bay			
Brading Harbour			
Carrisbrook Castle.		10 × 7.	Mr. Landseer and sketch.
Chale Farm	}	Second size.	Mr. Landseer.
Motteston Mill			
Totnell Bay			
Salisbury Porch	}	Sir Richard Hoare,	size of Ely.'
Front of Salisbury			

The following is written in small characters in pencil in the top right-hand corner of the leaf:

'Steephill Cove.
Bembridge Mill, &c.
Godshill.
Carisb. Castle.
Appuldurcomb and } Size of Steephill.
Newport }
Motteston Mill. Size of Chale, i. e. 8½ × 6½.'

On the inside of the front cover 'Size of Steephill, 12 × 8' is written in ink, and on the inside of the end cover the following note, also in ink, appears: 'Church at Newport, Isle of Wight. November 2, 1800. Winchester Cross. Mr. Alexander.'

The two drawings commissioned by Sir Richard Colt Hoare were probably the 'North Porch of Salisbury Cathedral', exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797, and the 'West Front of Salisbury Cathedral', exhibited in 1799. These two drawings, from Sir Richard's collection, were sold at Christie's in 1883. But, curiously enough, all trace of the drawings ordered by Mr. Landseer has been lost. They may not all have been carried out, but some certainly were. A water-colour of 'Chale Farm, Isle of Wight', was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1796, and among John Landseer's effects were six unfinished plates

of views in the Isle of Wight. These plates were only carried as far as the open etching, but the water-colours from which they were taken must have been finished before the engraver could have begun his work. After John Landseer's death in 1852, these plates were bought up by Bohn, the publisher, who had them finished by another engraver, and issued with Turner's name attached to them. Mr. Rawlinson (*Engraved Works of J. M. W. Turner*, p. 12) says that only four of them were engraved from Turner's drawings, the two others being 'doubtless from drawings by Ibbetson'. But Turner was certainly responsible for one at least of these two subjects, as the engraving corresponds very closely with the drawing on page 43 of this sketch-book (see Plate XXXV, b). The lettering on the plate issued by Bohn is, however, incorrect. The subject is described as 'Shanklin Castle', and Turner's sketch bears the name of 'Colwell Bay'. The four other subjects which Turner executed for Landseer are 'Orchard Bay', 'Freshwater Bay', 'Alum Bay' and 'Alum Bay and the Needles'. These drawings are perhaps now lying hid in some private collection, possibly incorrectly ascribed to some other artist. There is no evidence in the sketch-book to connect the original of the sixth engraving—a view of 'Cowes Castle'—with Turner, so it may have been engraved from a drawing by Ibbetson, as Mr. Rawlinson suggests, though, so far as I know, there is no evidence whatever in support of such an assumption.

Apart from their artistic value these pencil drawings of Turner have considerable biographical interest when they are 'kept together'. They form a sort of diary of all his travels. We see from them that Turner habitually planned his sketching expeditions with great care, that he knew exactly where he meant to go and what he had to look for, and that he generally carried out his programme carefully and methodically. The present book starts at Winchester. Having sketched the city mill, cathedral and Butter Cross, he went to Southampton and sketched the ruins at Netley near there, before taking the mail-packet to Cowes. From Newport he made his way through Godshill to Ventnor, and then followed the coast to the Needles. After sketching Totland and Colwell bays he returned to Newport, and went west to Brading before taking the packet from Cowes back to Southampton and going on to Salisbury. The book we are now dealing with covers only the first portion of Turner's sketching tour of this year. From Salisbury he went to Wells, and then made his way to Bristol, using the New Passage to Monmouth. The remainder of the summer he was busy in South Wales, bringing back something like a hundred beautiful pencil drawings of the interior and exterior of St. David's Cathedral, the ruined castles of Kidwelly and Laugharne, besides views of Hampton Court, Herefordshire, the cathedrals of Gloucester and Hereford, and the waterfalls and picturesque coast-scenery of South Wales. But these fine things do not concern us on the present occasion.

The following is a complete record of all the pages of the 'Isle of Wight' Sketch-book, with references to the accompanying illustrations:—

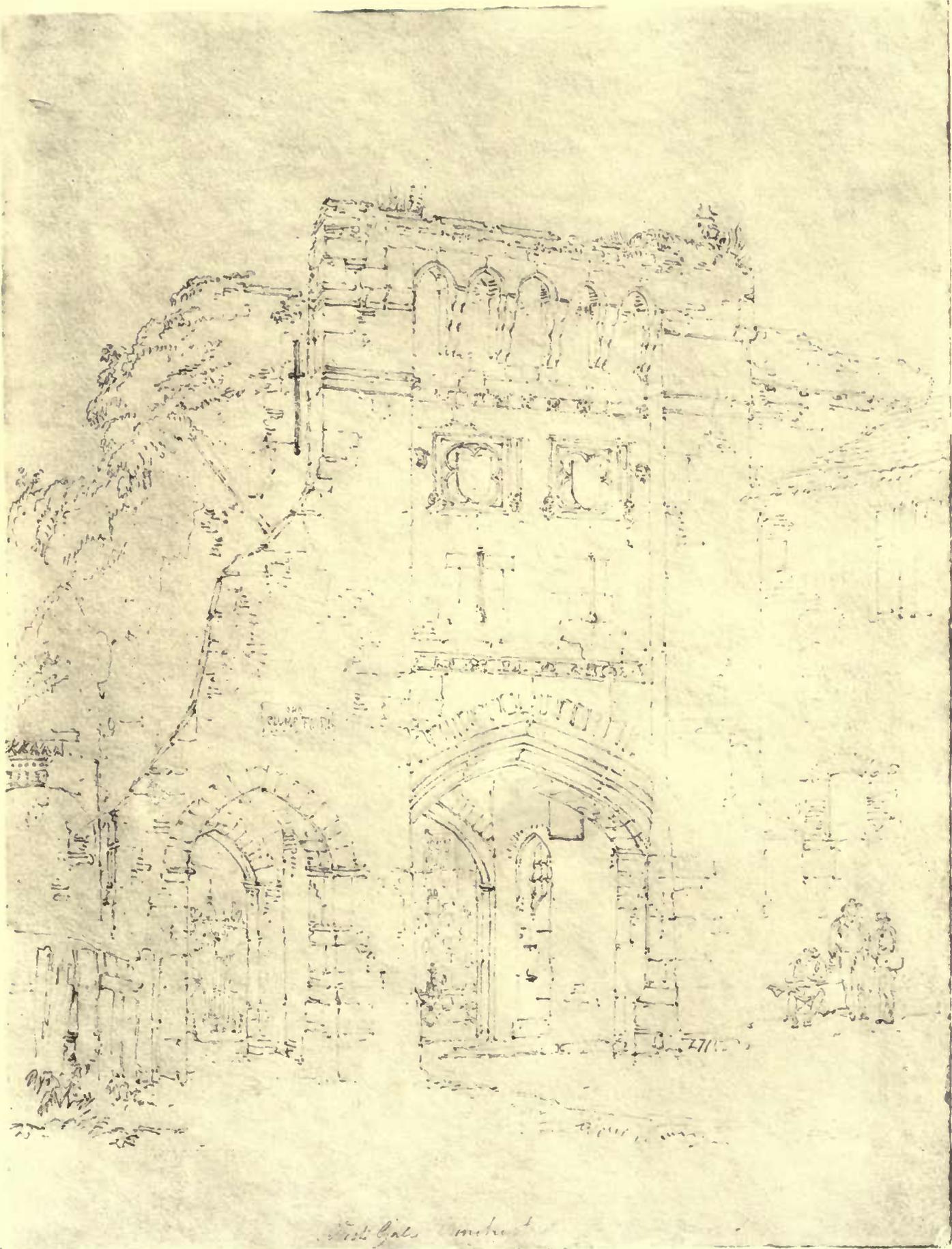
- Page 1. A Mill; probably Winchester City Mill (not reproduced).
2. 'Winchester City Mill.' Pencil, with washes of Indian ink, sepia and red (Plate XXII, b).
 3. 'West Gate, Winchester' (Plate XXIII).
 4. 'Winchester Cross' (Plate XXIV, a). This is one of the subjects for which Mr. Alexander gave a commission. The water-colour is now in the Manchester Whitworth Institute (Taylor Bequest). An engraving of it was published by Wm. Alexander and J. Powell, on July 30, 1800.
 5. Slight sketch of hill-side, perhaps St. Giles' Hill (not reproduced).
 6. Slight sketch of a large cruciform church with central tower. Probably St. Cross (not reproduced).
 - 7.)
 - 8.) } Blank.
 - 9.)
 10. The Bargate, Southampton (Plate XXIV, b).
 11. Winchester Cathedral, from the Avenue. Pencil, with washes of Indian ink and sepia (Plate XXV).
 12. Slight sketch of a distant view of Southampton (not reproduced).
 13. Blank.
 14. (a) Winchester Cathedral and St. Cross (not reproduced).
(b) 'Salisbury, from Old Sarum Entrenchment' (Plate XXVI, a).
 15. Blank.
 16. West Front, Salisbury Cathedral (Plate XXVI, b).
 17. Part of Exterior, Salisbury Cathedral (Plate XXVII, a).
 18. 'Poultry Cross, Sarum' (Plate XXVII, b).
 19. 'Close Gate, Sarum' (Plate XXVII, c).
 20. Blank.
 21. Old Building, Salisbury (Plate XXVII, d).
 22. Netley Abbey, near Southampton (Plate XXVIII, a).
 23. Another view of Netley Abbey (Plate XXVIII, b).
 24. A distant view of Carisbrook Castle (not reproduced).
 25. Carisbrook Castle, with Newport Church in distance. An evening effect, water-colour (Plate XXIX, a).
 - 25a. Gate of Carisbrook Castle. Partly finished in water-colour. Exhibited drawing, No. 532, N. G. (Plate XXIX, b).
 26. A church, perhaps at Arretton, but I am not sure (Plate XXX, a).
 27. 'Chale Church' (not reproduced).

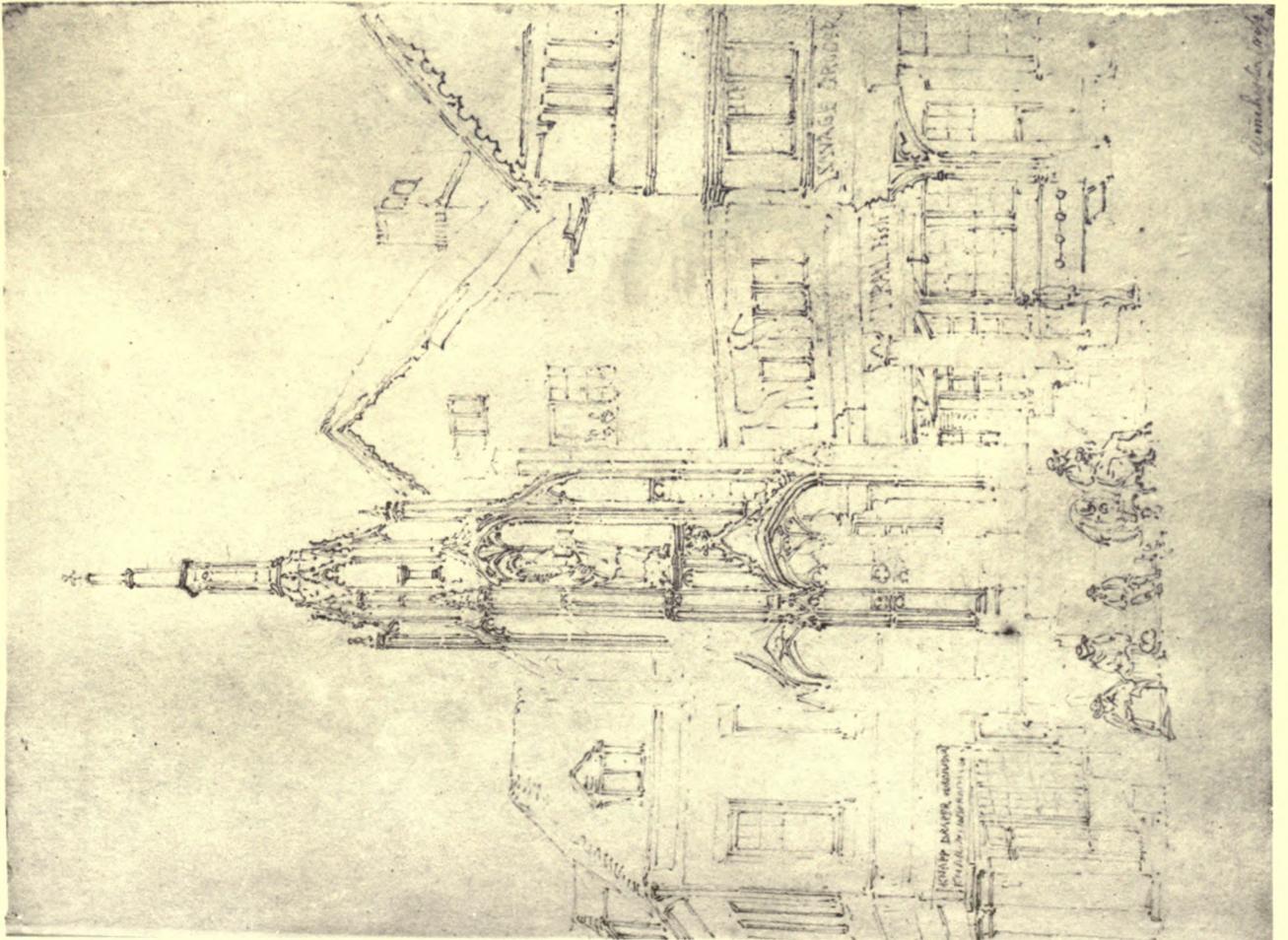
- Page 28. 'Chale Farm' (Plate XXX). The water-colour exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1796 was no doubt based on this sketch. Perhaps the accompanying reproduction may lead to its discovery.
29. 'St. Lawrence, Orchard's Bay.' Partly finished in water-colour (Plate XXXI, a). This is one of the subjects engraved by Landseer.
 30. 'Steep Hill Cove' (Plate XXXI, b). One of the subjects commissioned by Landseer, but not engraved.
 31. 'Mill Bay,' near Ventnor (Plate XXXII, a).
 32. 'Niton Church' (not reproduced).
 33. Slight sketch of Mill with water-wheel (not reproduced).
 34. Slight sketch of Fishermen, with boats (not reproduced).
 35. Cottages on cliff. A slight beginning only (not reproduced).
 36. Appuldurcomb Park (Plate XXXII, b). One of the subjects commissioned by Landseer, but not engraved.
 37. Godshill Church (Plate XXXIII, a). Commissioned by Landseer, but not engraved.
 38. 'Mottestone Mill' (Plate XXXIII, b). Commissioned by Landseer, but not engraved.
 39. Freshwater Bay. Distance and middle distance painted in water-colour (Plate XXXIV). A most beautiful drawing, showing Wilson's influence in the colour scheme. One of Turner's earliest studies of the sea. Commissioned and engraved by Landseer.
 40. Commencement of sketch of clouds, distant cliffs, &c. (not reproduced).
 41. Alum Bay. Water-colour (Plate XXXV, a).
 42. 'Totland Bay,' with Alum Bay and the Needles in the distance (Plate XXXVI). Engraved by Landseer, and published by Bohn under the title 'Alum Bay and the Needles'.
 43. 'Colwell Bay.' Sky and water left blank, the remainder of drawing carefully worked in water-colour (Plate XXXV, b). The water-colour based on this sketch was engraved by Landseer, and published by Bohn with the erroneous title of 'Shanklin Castle'.
 44. 'Newport,' with Carisbrook Castle in distance (Plate XXXVII). It is impossible to see Carisbrook from the spot where the river and town were sketched. But if one walks up the bank towards the churchyard on to higher ground, the castle becomes visible. This drawing is a good instance of the care with which Turner composed even his sketches from nature.
 45. Blank.
 46. Commencement of sketch of gable only (not reproduced).
 47. The Market Place, Newport (not reproduced).
 - 47a. Newport Church. Water-colour (Plate XXXVIII, a). This water-

colour is based on the sketch of the same subject on the following page. It is evidently connected with the commission for a drawing of the 'Church at Newport', entered on the inside of the end cover.

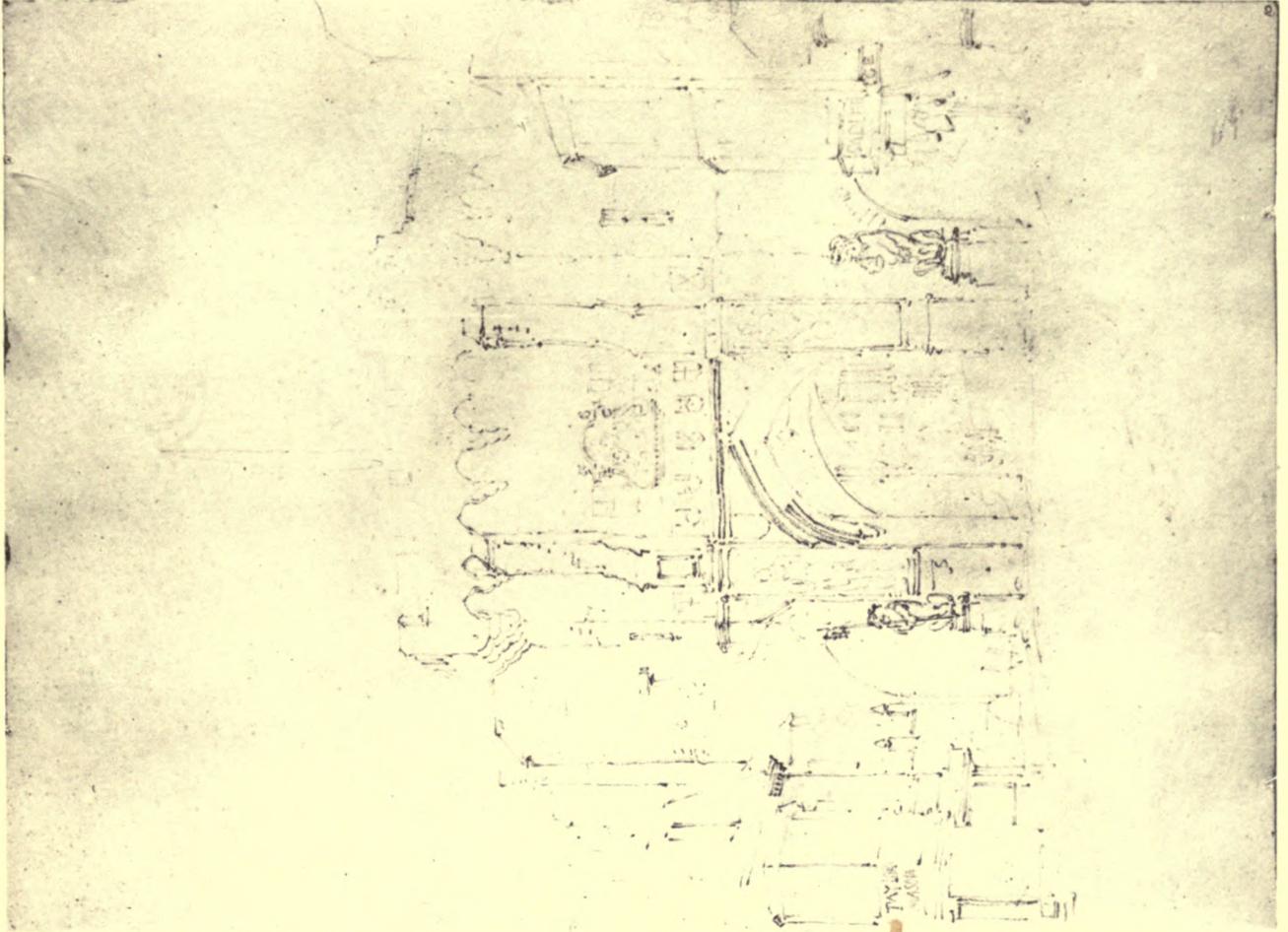
- Page 48. 'Newport Church' (Plate XXXVIII, b).
49. 'Nunwell and Brading from Bembridge Mill.' Part of mill and the distance exquisitely finished in water-colour (Plate XXXIX).

[All the drawings are in pencil, unless otherwise described. The descriptions printed in inverted commas are taken from Turner's own inscriptions on the drawings. The size of the pages of the sketch-book is $10\frac{3}{8} \times 8$ inches. The water-mark of the paper is 'E. and P. 1794'. The book is labelled on the back in Turner's writing, '95. Isle of Wight.']

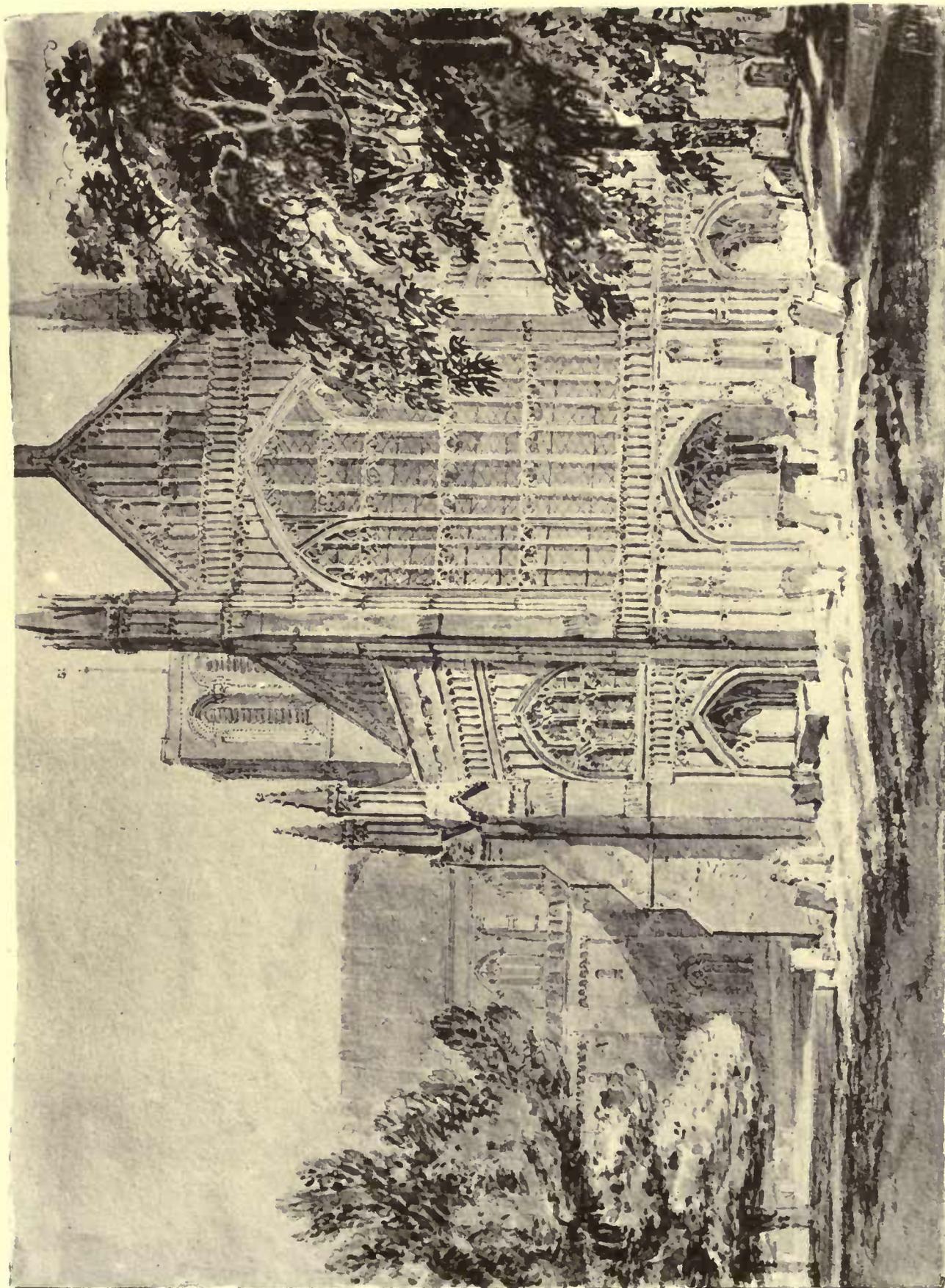




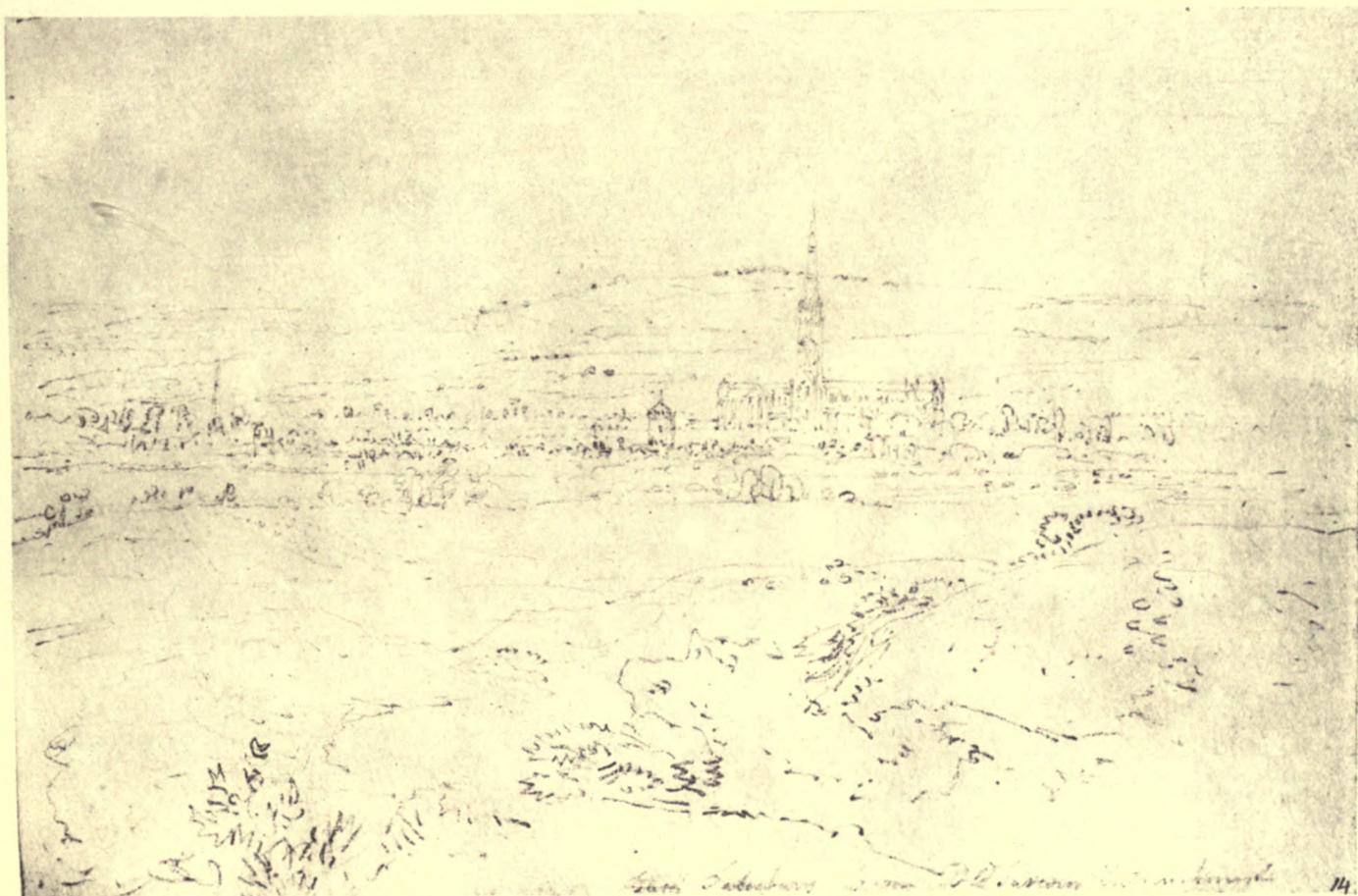
(a). Page 4 "Winchester Cross".



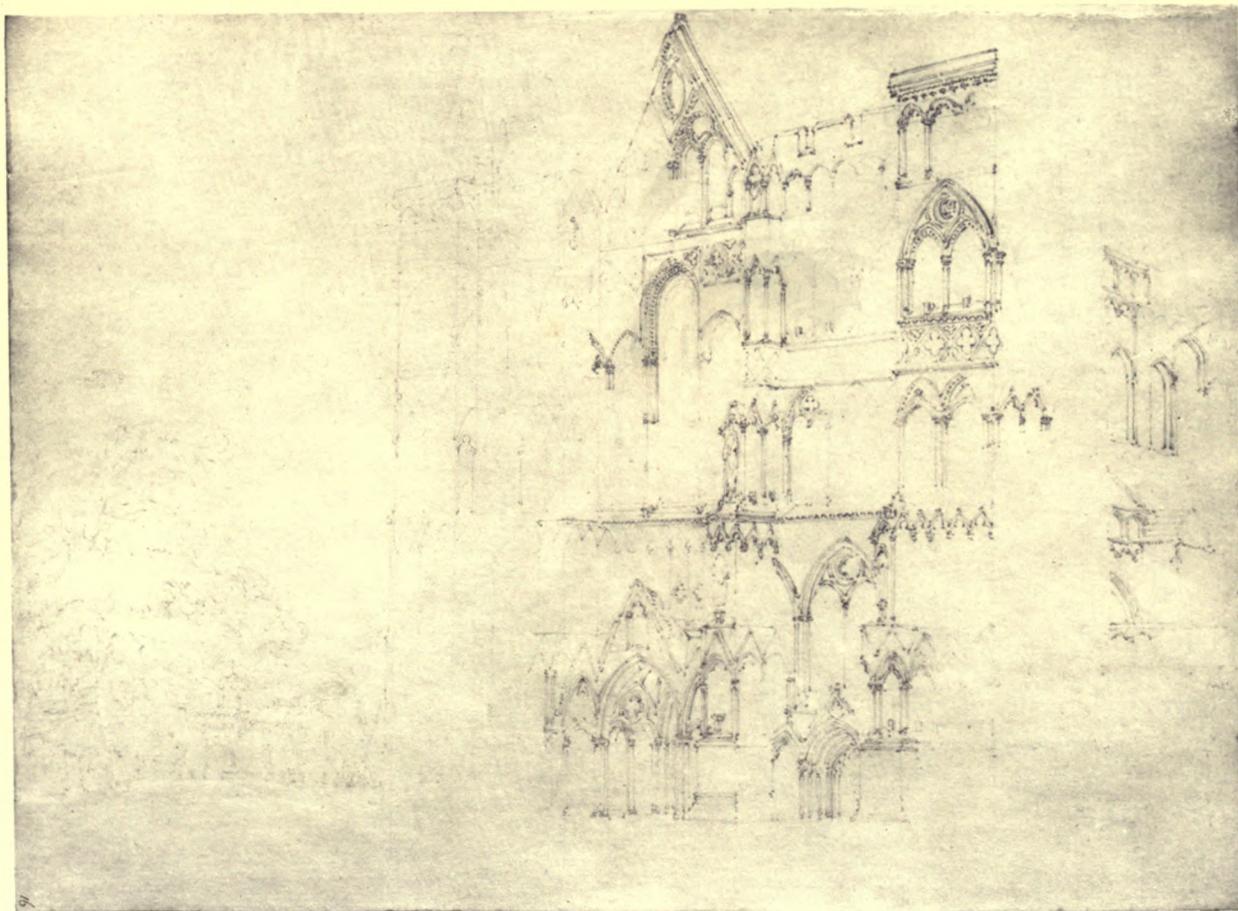
(b). Page 10 The Bargate, Southampton.



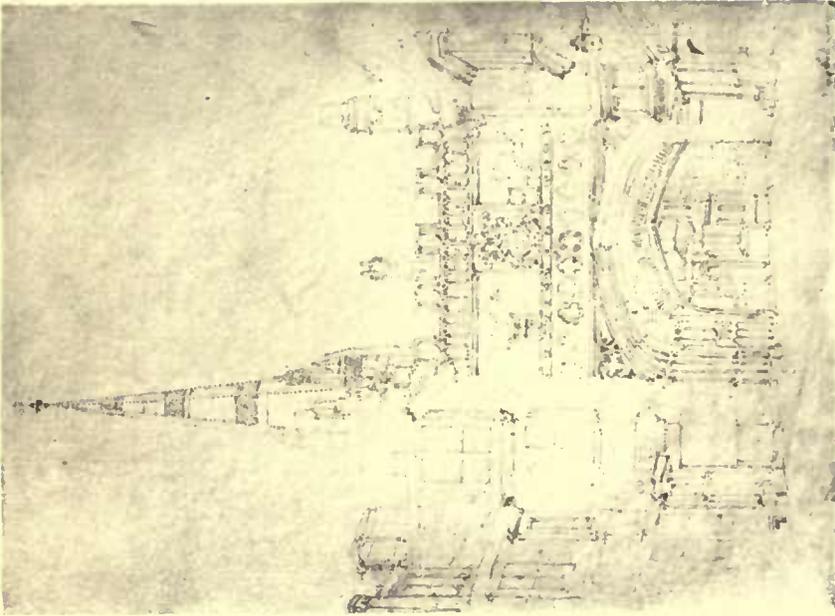
Page II. Winchester Cathedral, from the Avenue. Pencil, with washes of Indian ink and sepia.



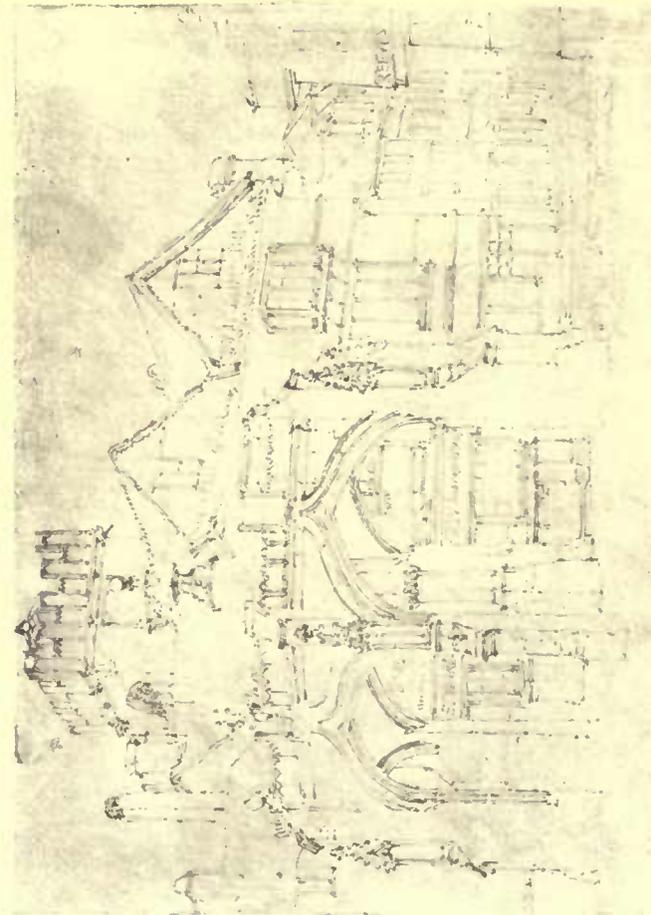
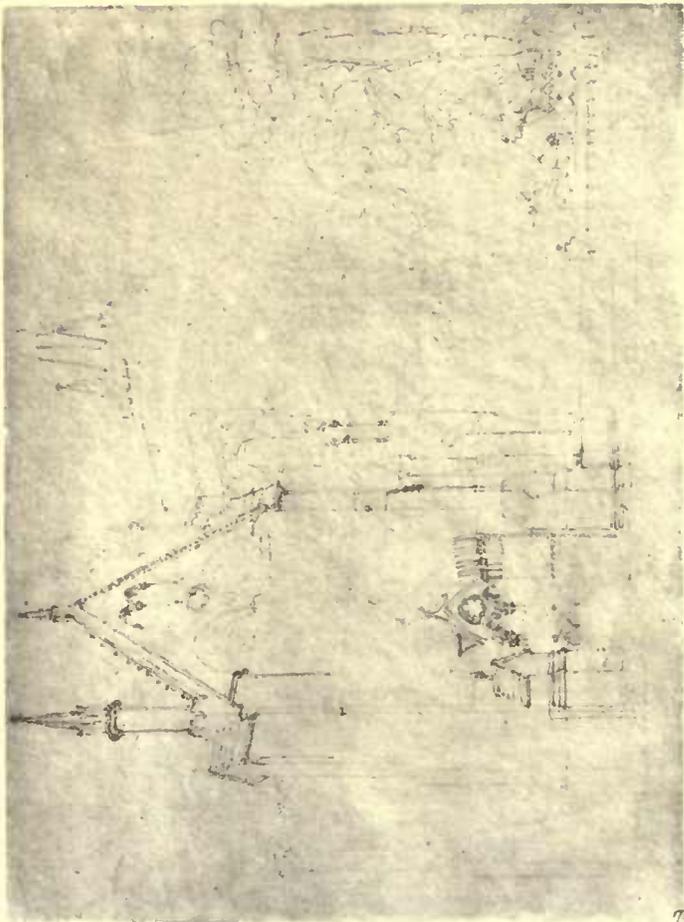
(a). Page 14b. "Salisbury, from Old Sarum Entrenchment".



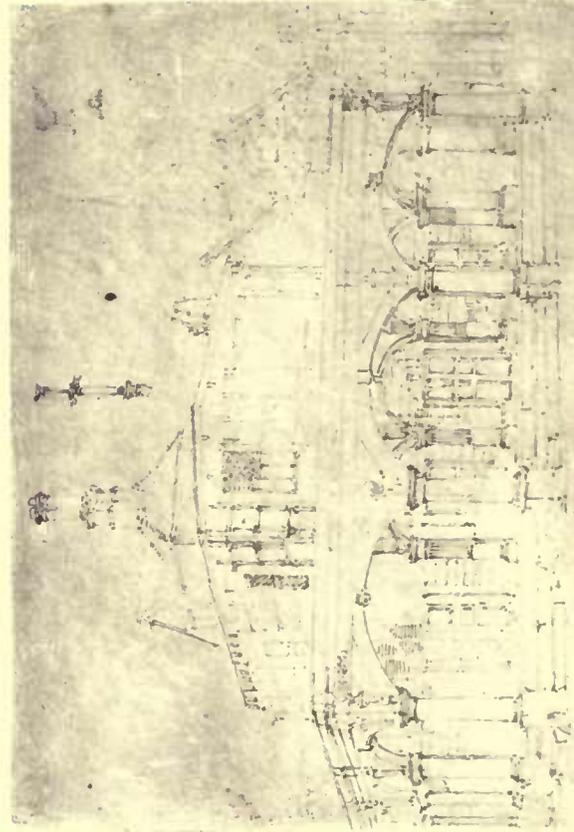
(b). Page 16. West Front, Salisbury Cathedral.



(a). Page 17. Part of Exterior, Salisbury Cathedral.



(c). Page 19. "Close Gate, Sarum".

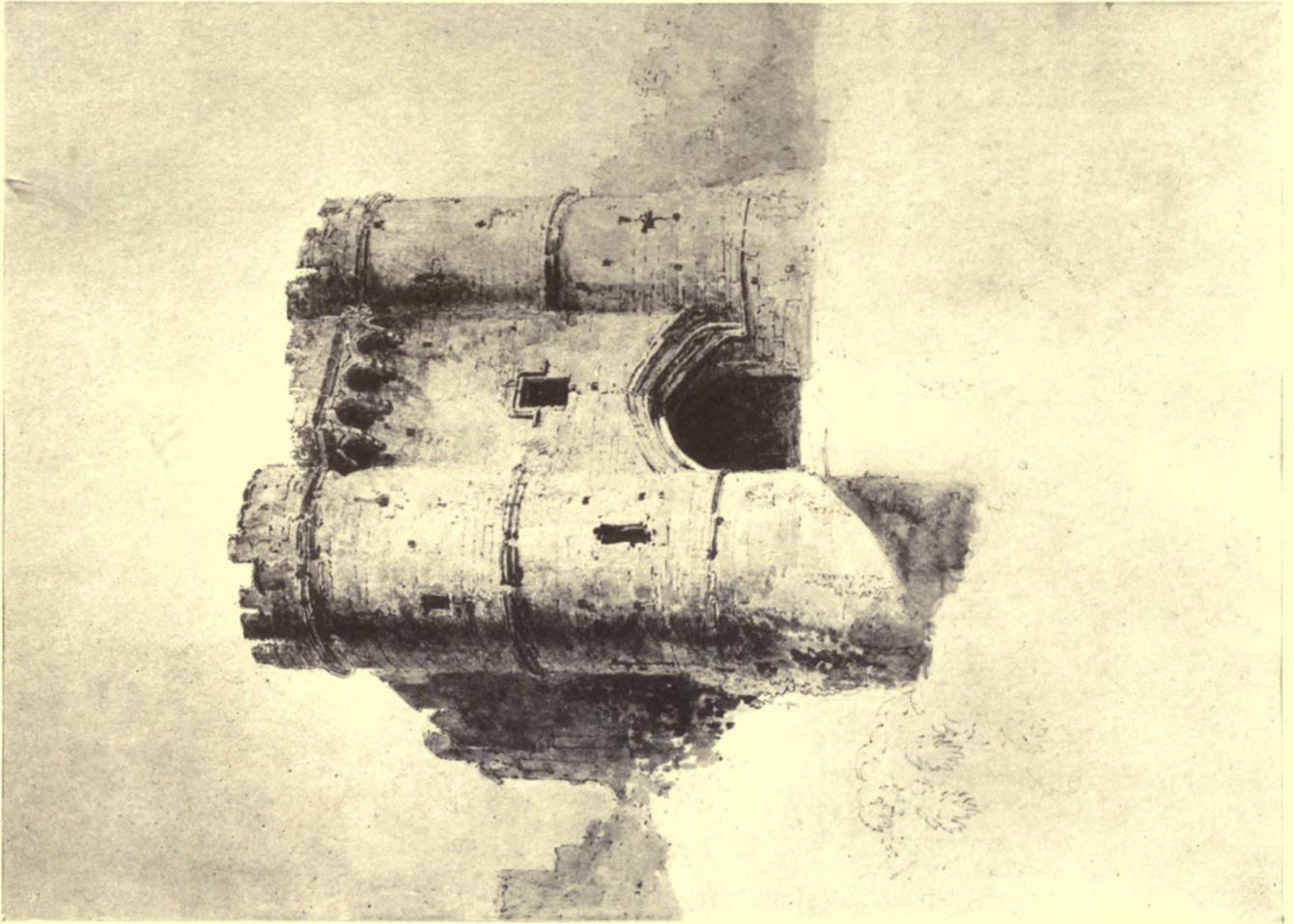




(b). Page 23. Another view of Netley Abbey.



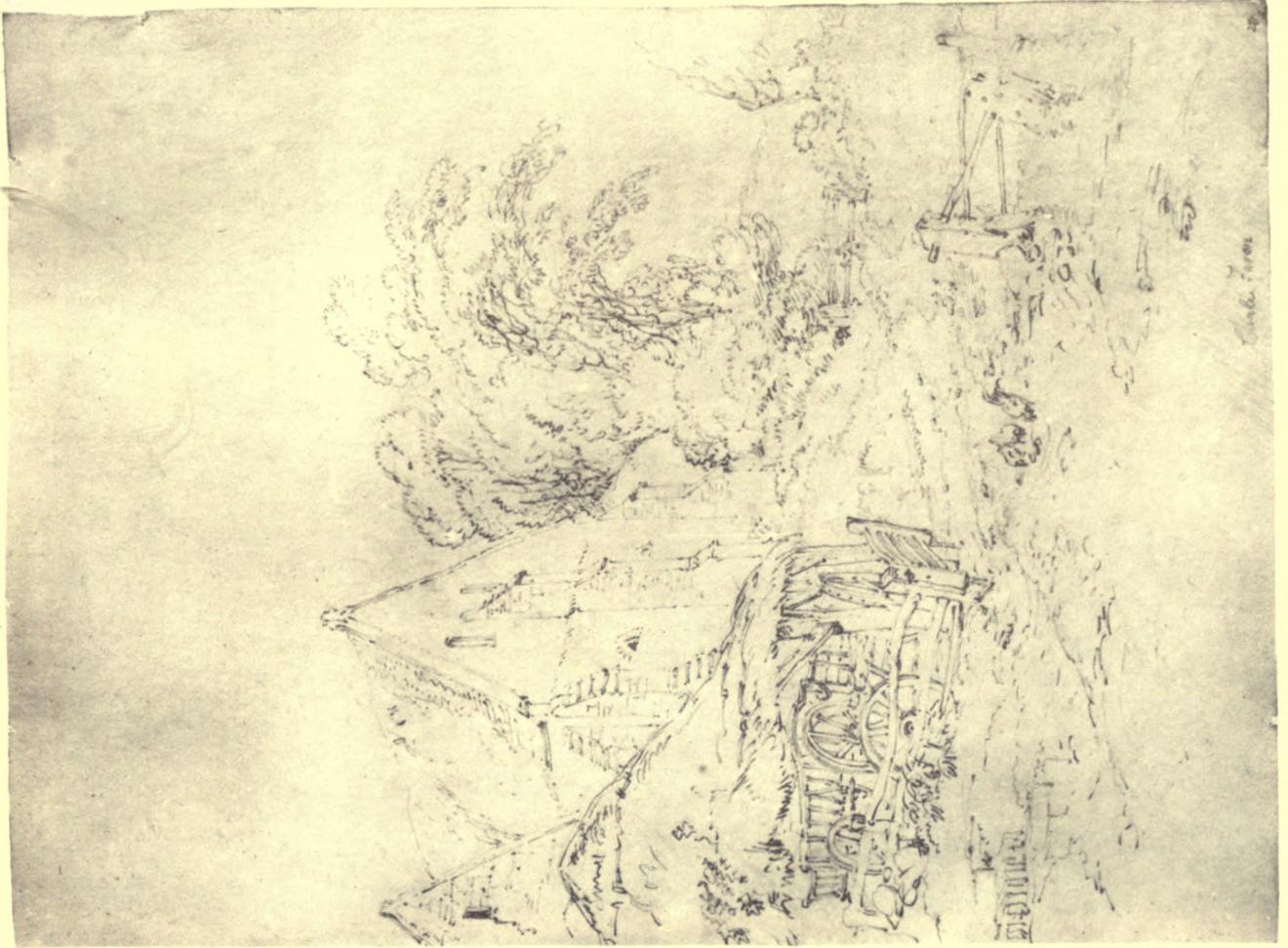
(a). Page 22. The Ruins of Netley Abbey.



(b). Page 25a. Gate of Carisbrook Castle. Partly finished in water colour.



(a). Page 25. Carisbrook Castle, with Newport Church in distance. Water colour.



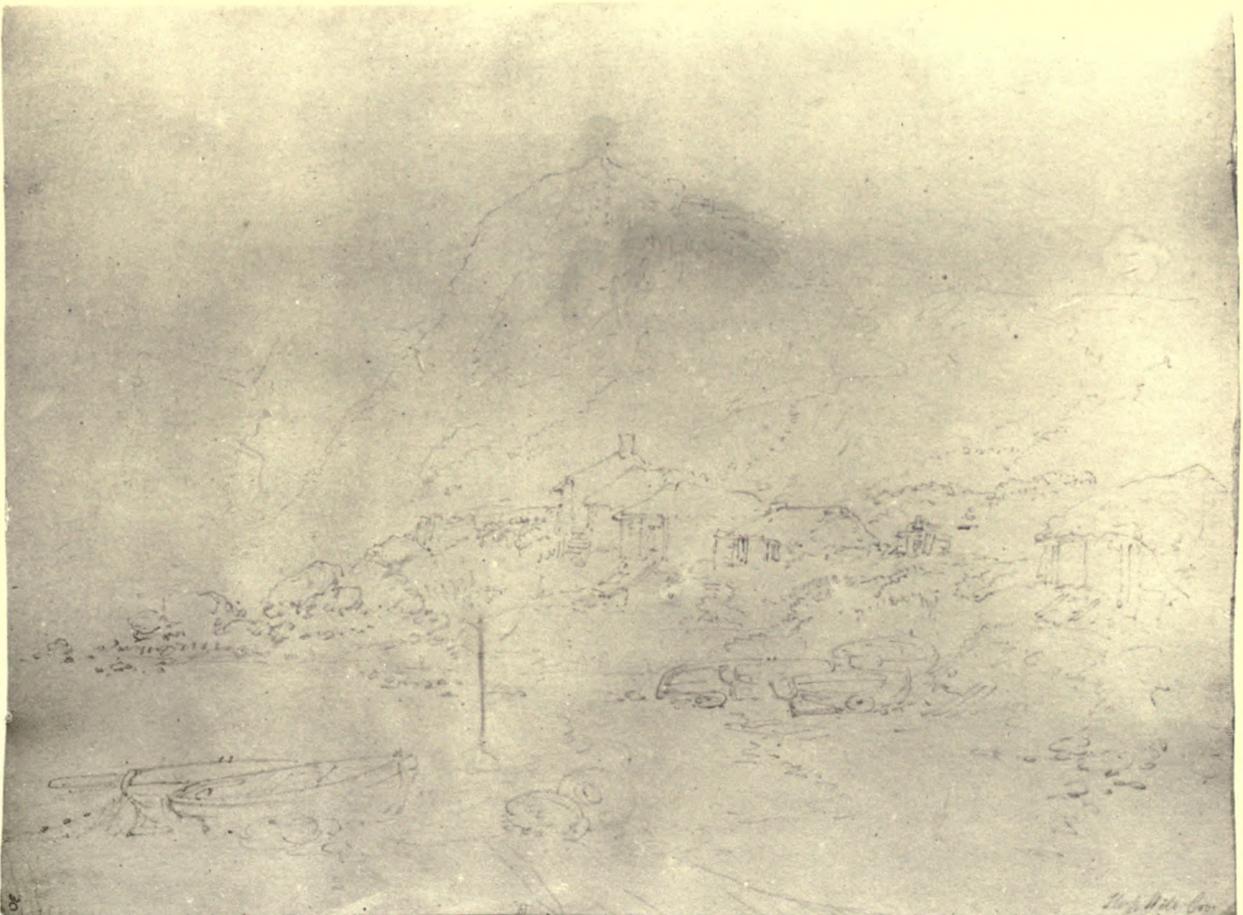
(b). Page 28. "Chale Farm".



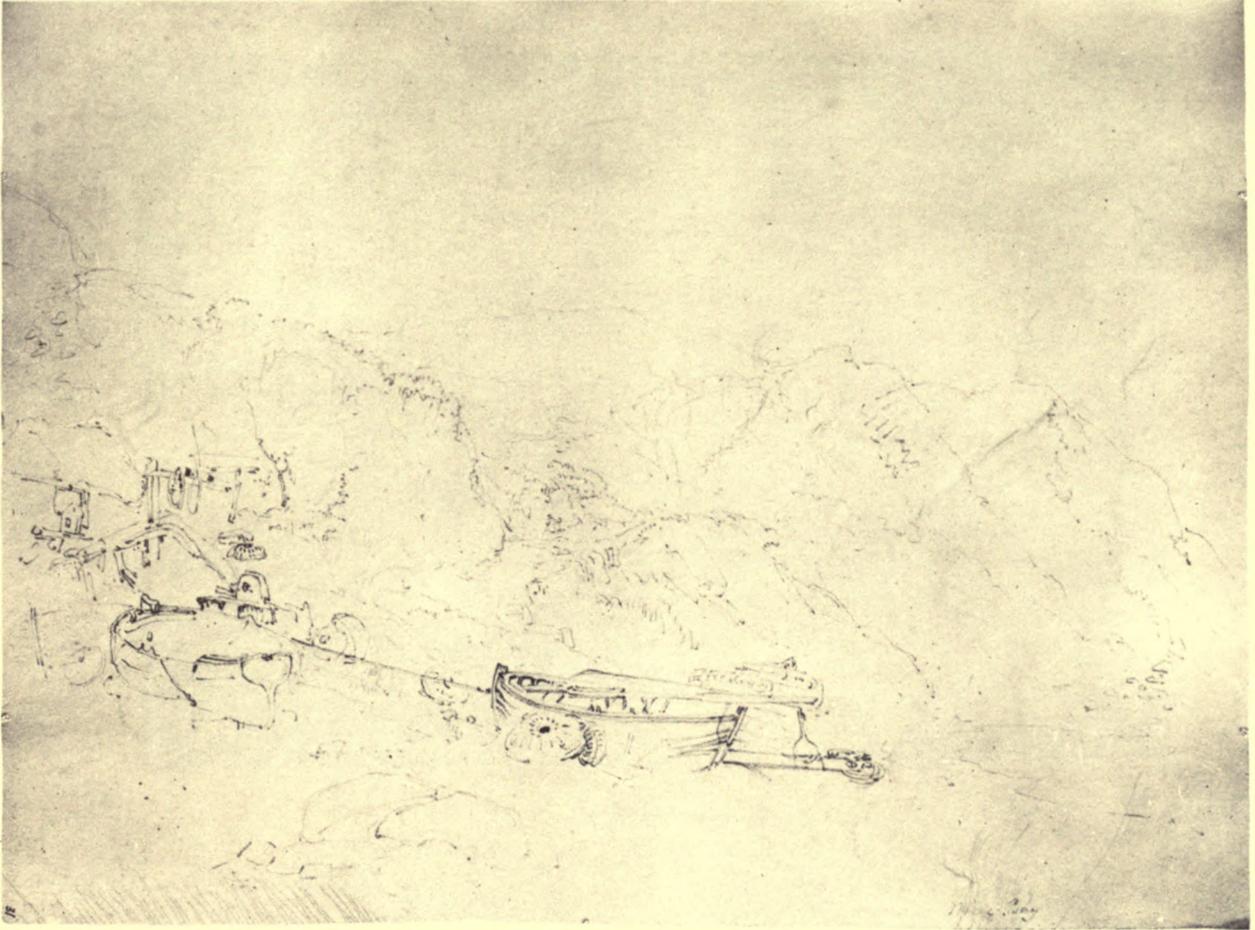
(a). Page 26. A Church.



(a). Page 29. "St. Lawrence, Orchard's Bay". Partly finished in water colour.



(b). Page 30. "Steep Hill Cove".



(a). Page 31. "Mill Bay".



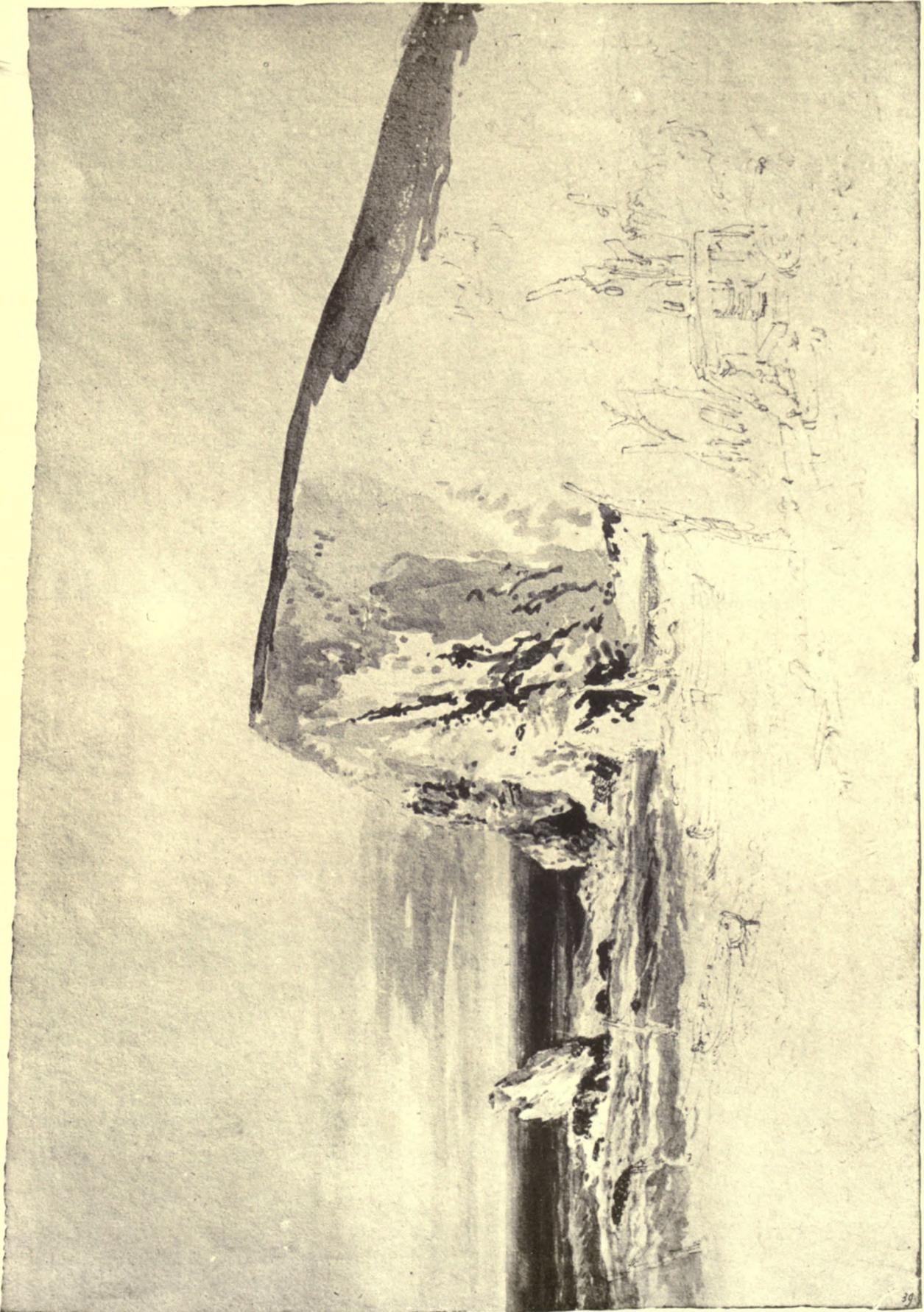
(b). Page 36. Appuldurcomb Park.



(a). Page 37. Godshill Church.



(b). Page 38. "Mottestone Mill".



Page 39. Freshwater Bay. Partly worked in water colour.



(a). Page 41. Alum Bay. Water colour.



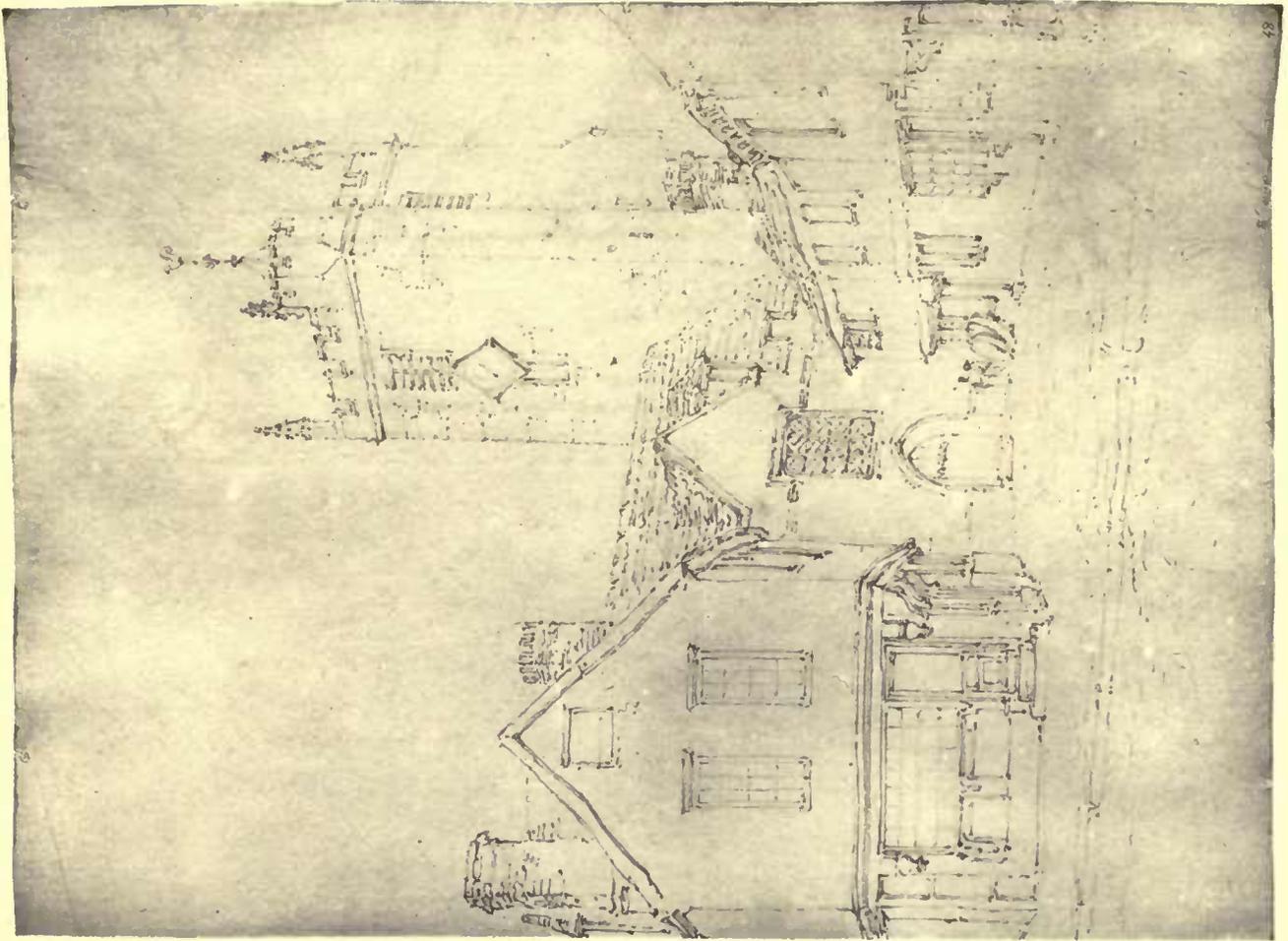
(b). Page 43. "Colwell Bay". Water colour.



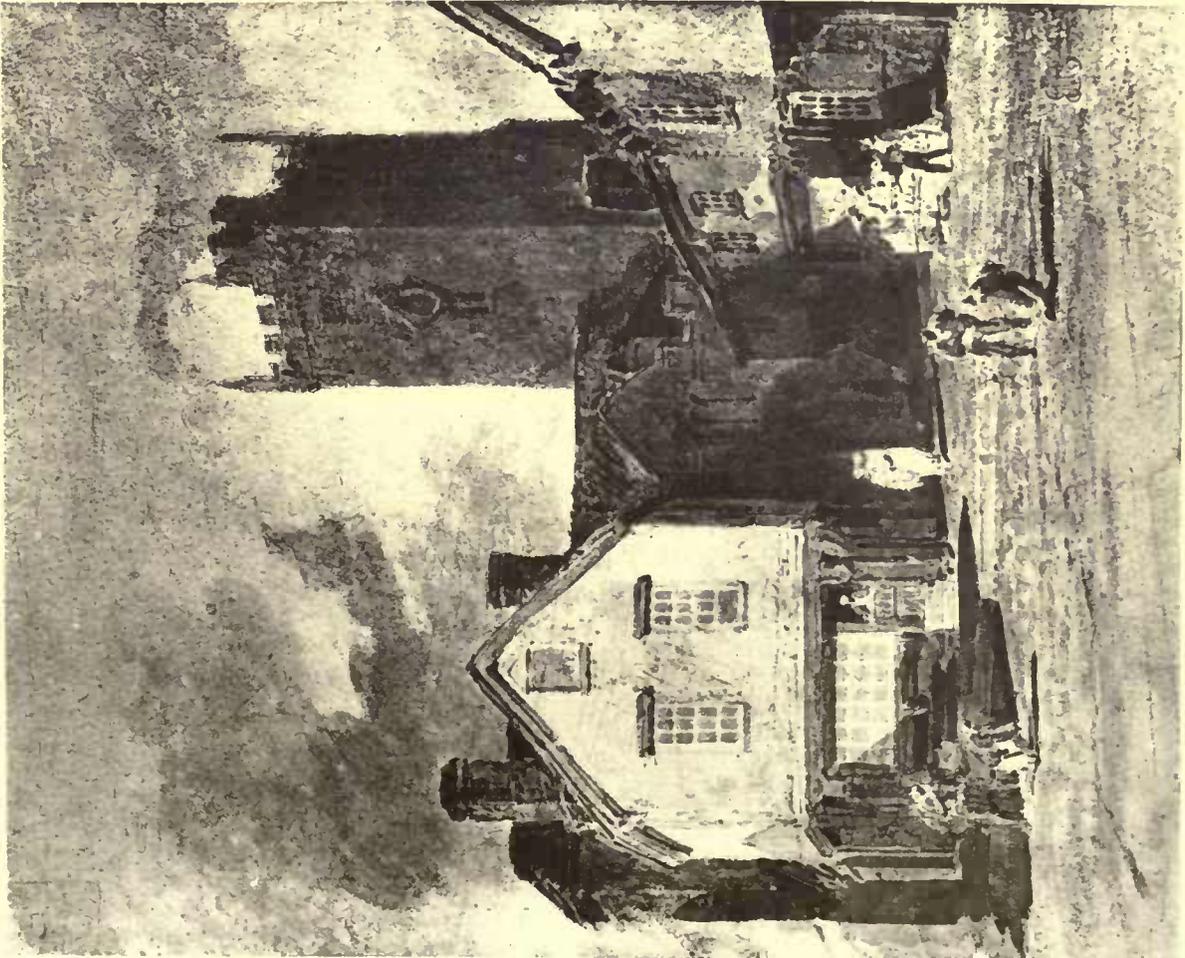
Page 42. "Totland Bay", with Alum Bay and the Needles in the distance.



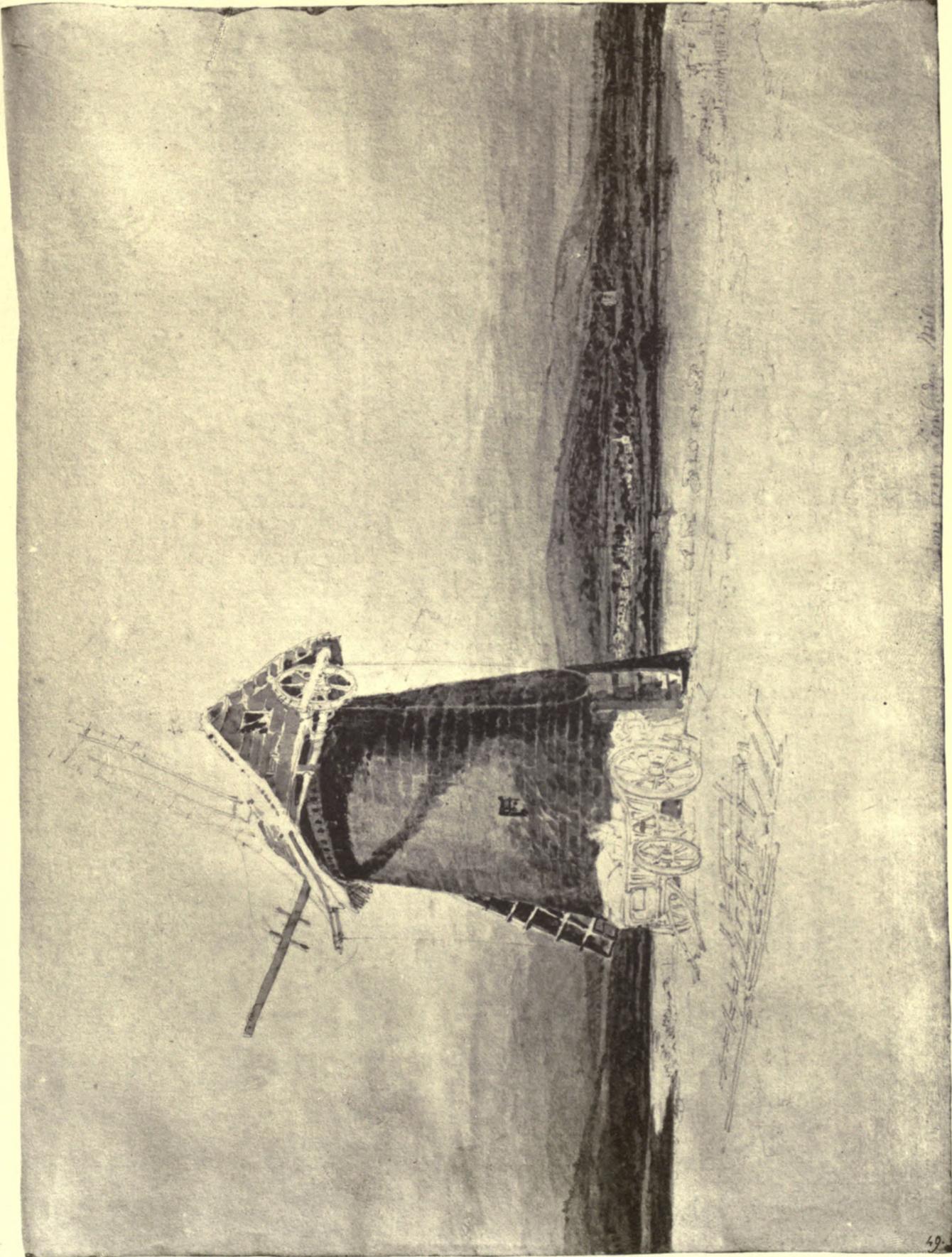
Page 44. "Newport", with Carisbrook Castle in distance.



(b). Page 48. Newport Church.



(a). Page 47a. Newport Church. Water colour.



Page 49. "Nunwell and Brading, from Bembridge Mill". Partly worked in water colour.

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